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May 1913

THE CHURCH HISTORIANS OF ENGLAND.

VOL. III.—PART II.

CONTAINING

THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF SIMEON OF DURHAM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN,

WITH PREFACE AND NOTES,

BY THE REV. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A.

OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DURHAM:

VICAR OF LEIGHTON BUZZARD.

Seeleys,
FLEET STREET AND HANOVER STREET.
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claimed it as the production of his own pen. By this process Selden reconciles with the year 1164 the various chronological statements which are scattered throughout the narrative; and the external and internal evidence are thus brought into harmony with each other. Selden's name invested this theory with an authority to which its own merits did not entitle it, and for many years Simeon was known only as a detected plagiarist, and as such held up to general reprobation.

§ 5. Such was the state of the question from the year 1652 to 1732, at which latter date a dissertation by the Rev. Thomas Rud, librarian to the dean and chapter of Durham, (prefixed to Bedford's highly creditable edition of Simeon's History,) did tardy but ample justice to the character of our historian. Selden's false reasonings, unwarranted assumptions, and forced conclusions, are exposed and corrected in this masterly essay; and Simeon was restored to that position in our literature of which he had been so unjustly deprived. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to conduct the reader through the different steps of the argument; it may suffice to state that the conclusion is based upon evidence which is amply sufficient for its establishment.

§ 6. The existence of Simeon as an independent English historian being thus established, we have now to inquire into the character and value of the writings of which he is the author. Translations of the following histories are here presented to the reader:—

§ 7. "Simeon's History of the Kings."—This consists of two divisions; the former extending from A.D. 616 to 957 (p. 483), the second from 848 to 1129. Prefixed to the entire work is an account of the martyrdom of SS. Ethelbert and Ethelred,[1] which being of Kentish origin has no immediate connexion with a history which treats of the affairs of the kingdom of Northumbria; nor does there appear to be any obvious reason why it should occupy the prominent place here assigned to it.

§ 8. This document, the History of the Kings, is of varied authority. From its beginning until the death of Beda, in 735, it is confessedly a compilation from the writings of that author, and from a few other sources,[2] some of which are specified. At A.D. 846[3] Asser's life of king Alfred is largely employed. Florence of Worcester is afterwards copied at some length, and William of Malmesbury is cited.[4] Two portions, however, of the History of the Kings appear to be original; that, namely, which extends from A.D. 735 to 802, and from 1119 to the end: both of considerable value, more especially for the history of the northern provinces of England.

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[1] The legend in its present form is earlier than Simeon's time, for it speaks of the bodies of the martyrs as still deposited at Wackering, (see the present volume, p. 730,) whereas about A.D. 990 they were removed to Ramsey. See Capgrave, Nova Legenda Angl. f. 143.

[2] It may suffice to remark that Simeon's copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle corresponds with no existing manuscript of that document.

[3] There is a blank in the narrative from A.D. 803 to 846, with the exception of a single entry under the year 830. A comparison with Hoveden's text during the same period leads to the inference that the copy which he had before him was defective at the same point.

[4] P. 843.

§ 9. It is not probable that both these chronicles, which constitute the History of the Kings, are the work of Simeon of Durham; or, indeed, that they are to be ascribed to one and the same author. They contain statements which are contradictory the one to the other, and they vary in their chronology. It might be doubted, were we disposed to be sceptical, how far either of them is the production of the author whose name the whole now bears. They give no prominence to the fortunes of the church of Durham,[1] or the individuals who were connected with it; whereas the history of Hexham[2] and its bishops is detailed at considerable length, so much so indeed, as to lead to the inference that the author was an inmate of that establishment.

§ 10. Only one manuscript copy of this chronicle is known to be extant. It is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, No. cxxxix. in folio, written in double columns upon vellum by a hand of the twelfth century. From this source it was printed by Twysden in his Decem Scriptores, the only complete edition which has yet appeared. The portion from the beginning as far as the year 978 is given by Petrie and Hardy in their Collection of English Historians. The present text is a translation from these two authorities.

§ 11. "Simeon's History of the Church of Durham" gives a detailed and connected account of the fortunes and migrations of the monks of St. Cuthbert, from the introduction of the Christian faith into Northumbria until the year 1096. Although professing to deal with ecclesiastical history only, it furnishes us with many important illustrations of the secular affairs of the northern districts of England. Simeon—for we have no longer any room to question its author—was well informed upon the incidents which he narrates, although it must be admitted that he is sometimes betrayed into serious errors.[3] He loses no opportunity of magnifying the dignity and importance of his patron saint by recounting incidents which draw largely upon the credulity of his readers; but these narratives for the most part so well illustrate either the history, or the manners, or the faith of the age to which they relate, that we are no losers by their introduction.

§ 12. Of this work there have appeared two editions. The first of these is contained in the collection of English historians known as Twysden's Decem Scriptores. It is formed upon two MSS., the Cottonian MS. Faustina A. v. (apparently contemporary with Simeon himself), the other in the public library of the University of Cambridge. This edition, although executed with considerable care, is now entirely superseded by the publication of Bedford's volume,[4] which appeared in 1732. The great value of this later edition is, that it faithfully represents the text of a manuscript, (now belonging to the public library of the University of Durham,) which, as Rud has satisfactorily proved, is Simeon's autograph. With such an authority as this before us, supported by the Cottonian copy, Faustina A. v., any further reference to manuscripts[1] becomes a work of supererogation. It is from this text that our translation has been made.

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[1] This remark does not apply to the portion extending from A.D. 1119 to the end.

[2] See A.D. 781, 788.

[3] For instance, in his assertion (p. 659) that king Alfred lay hidden for three years in the marshes at Glastonbury, for which he apparently cites the Historia de S. Cuthberto, printed by Twysden, col. 67, (cf. col. 71, line 23,) or some common authority.

[4] The full title of this satisfactory work is as follows:—"Symeonis monachi Dunelmensis libellus de exordio atque procursu Dunhelmensis ecclesiæ. Cui pre-

§ 13. Appended to this History are two Continuations.

The former of these (p. 712) embraces a period extending from 1096 to 1144, and gives an account of the episcopate of Ralph Flambard and Geoffrey Rufus, and of the troubles which occurred during the invasion of the see by William Cumin. The anonymous writer, apparently a Durham monk, was an eye-witness of many of the incidents which he recounts, and the whole of his narrative is valuable and interesting. It occurs in the Durham manuscript without any distinct title, and is written in a hand somewhat later than the remainder of the volume. Other copies are to be found in the Cottonian manuscripts Titus A. ii.,[2] and Vespasian A. vi.,[3] some extracts from which are printed by Wharton in his Anglia Sacra.[4] The translation here given is from Bedford's edition; Wharton's text and the manuscript copies mentioned above have been consulted, but without affording any important results.

§ 14. "The History of the unjust Persecution of the first Bishop William," (p. 731,) is also a document of much historical value. It possesses the additional interest of placing before us a vivid picture of one of the struggles which took place between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. Its professed object is to give an account of the circumstances which led to the banishment of William Karilef by William Rufus, and its anonymous author, probably a monk of Durham, has executed his task with considerable skill. Bedford's text, which is here translated, is formed upon two manuscript copies, that at Durham, already so frequently mentioned, and another in the Bodleian Library.[5]

§ 15. "A short History concerning the Intruder during the time of Bishop William the Second," next follows, (p. 751.) This account of the invasion of the see of Durham by William Cumin, is here given from Twysden's edition; the manuscripts which he followed differing, at this point, from Bedford's text. As each fur-

mittitur rev. viri Thomæ Rud erudita disquisitio, in qua probatur non Turgotum, sed Symeonem fuisse verum hujus libelli auctorem. E codice MS. perantiquo in Bibliotheca publica episcoporum Dunhelmensium descripsit ediditque Thomas Bedford. Accedunt, præter alia, ex eodem codice, historiæ Dunhelmensium episcoporum continuatio, et libellus De injusta vexatione Willelmi I. episcopi, nunc primum editus." 8vo. Lond. 1732.

[1] The Cottonian MSS., Vesp. A. vi. of the fourteenth century, and Titus A. ii. of the fifteenth, have been examined, but the results are unimportant, tending only to confirm the value of the Durham copy.

[2] This manuscript ends imperfectly, with the words "contra episcopales" (Bedford, p. 278, l. 20), corresponding with the present edition, p. 724, l. 21.

[3] This copy is complete, and is followed by the History of Geoffrey of Coldingham. These two manuscripts agree closely with Bedford's edition.

[4] i. 705.

[5] MS. Fairfax vi., a folio volume upon vellum, written at Durham in the fourteenth century.

nishes an independent account of the same transactions, both are included in the present volume.

§ 16. "Simeon's Chronicles of the Angles," (p. 757,) supply us with a brief outline of the history of the kings of Northumbria from the time of Ida until that kingdom merged with the other states in the formation of the realm under Egbert. Thence it is continued until the end of the reign of Henry the First. This is translated from the text furnished by Twysden,[1] which is derived from the manuscript in Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, already mentioned (§ 2).

§ 17. We are indebted to the same source for "Simeon's History of the Siege of Durham," (p. 763.) No other manuscript copy than that which was used by Twysden (MS. Corpus Christi College, see § 2) is known to exist.

§ 18. "Simeon's Letter to Hugh, the Dean of York, concerning the Archbishops of York," (p. 769,) is printed from Twysden's volume. The succession of the occupants of that see extends to Roger, who ascended the archiepiscopal throne in the year 1154.[2] But this list is carried beyond Simeon's own date. A copy contained in one of the Cottonian manuscripts continues the succession no further than Thurstan (A.D. 1119—1139).[3]

§ 19. The object of the Appendix of Documents which follows (p. 775) is twofold. It not only furnishes some documents, highly valuable and interesting in themselves, which illustrate the period of history embraced in Simeon's writings, but it affords us the means of testing his accuracy and credibility as a writer. A comparison of Simeon's narrative with these writings—themselves of indisputable authority—strengthens our general confidence in him as a truthful and an honest historian.

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[1] Prefixed to his edition of Simeon's History of the Church of Durham.

[2] Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 100.

[3] Id. iii. 98. The MS. here referred to is Titus A. xix., which, though of comparatively modern execution, undoubtedly represents an earlier and better text than that of the Corpus Christi copy. As there were two deans of the name of Hugh about this time, we gain no help from the letter being addressed to this individual.

J. S.

LEIGHTON BUZZARD,
15th April, 1855.

SIMEON OF DURHAM'S HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.

SIMEON OF DURHAM'S

HISTORY OF THE KINGS.

HERE begins the history of Simeon, of holy and pleasant memory, Monk and Precentor of the Church of St. Cuthbert, of Durham, concerning the Kings of the Angles and Danes, and their numerous wars, pillages and burnings; from after the death of the Venerable Beda, priest, to within a little of the death of King Henry the First, son of William the Bastard, who conquered England; that is, during a period of four hundred and twenty-nine years and four months.

Here begins the Martyrdom of SS. Ethelbert and Ethelred, youths of the royal lineage.[1]

IN the year six hundred and sixteen from our Lord's incarnation, which is twenty-one years after the blessed Augustin with his companions was sent here to preach the Gospel, Ethelbert, king of the men of Kent, after having with great renown occupied an earthly kingdom for fifty-six years, entered upon the eternal joys of the kingdom of heaven. This king was the son of Irmiric,[2] the son of Octa, the son of Oiric, whose father Hengest, with his son Oisc, first entered Britain at the invitation of King Wirtigern, as Beda[3] has related in his luminous history. Eadbald, the son of Ethelbyrht, then assumed the reins of government. He begot two sons,[4] Eormenred and Erconbyrht. King Eadbald, departing this life, transmitted the sceptre of the state to Erconbert. He was first of the kings of the Angles who commanded the idols in the whole of his kingdom to be forsaken and destroyed, and likewise ordered the fast of the forty days [of Lent] to be observed by royal authority. To him was born a son, named Ecgbert. Eormenred had two sons, Ethelbert and Ethelred, to whose life and triumph of martyrdom it is right to give a place in the commencement of our history, and to show forth the glory of their holiness.

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[1] The legend here incorporated is of doubtful authority, and the statements which depend upon its unsupported assertion should be accepted with caution. Another recension of the narrative is contained in MS. Bodl. 285, apparently the production of Gotscelin, an abridgment of which may be seen in Capgrave's Nova Legenda Angliæ, fol. 142 *b*; from which a few variations have been gleaned.

[2] More correctly, Irmenric.

[3] Hist. Eccl. ii. 5. § 101.

[4] The existence of a third son, Ecgfrith, unknown to Beda and the author of this legend, is proved by a charter of Eadbald, (if it be genuine,) Cod. Diplom. i. 9.

For king Ethelbert was complete in the rule of the glorious power,[1] when mightily attracted by the words of divine knowledge, he was washed in the baptism of salvation. By his care or wise assistance the condition of the churches of God was everywhere strengthened, and, by contribution of their property, the assembly of the faithful was strengthened. The government of the kingdom being in consequence very ably arranged, to the best of his ability, called by the goodness of the Just Rewarder (for in all things He had caused him to follow Himself), he was set free from earthly things, and raised to reign with the saints in the height of heaven. His son Eadbald succeeded him in the administration of affairs, as before stated; to whom were born two sons of the royal line, Eormenred and Erconbyrht, the younger of whom, by his father's arrangement, assumed the sovereignty of the kingdom. After the death of Erconbyrht, his son, named Ecgbert, governed with great power; but the elder, Eormenred, continued through the changing course of this frail life without the rule of empire. To this pious man were born of his very pious wife two sons, who having been brought up in the courts of their Master, the King of Heaven, were in various ways enriched with the royal blessing of eternal glory. The one became renowned by the name of Ethelred; the other shone under that of Ethelbyrht. For at their sacred nativity we may well suppose, that all the orders of blessed spirits in heaven rejoiced to perceive that those whom they then beheld destined for earth, would return to them strengthened by the severe trials of this life. The height of the earth rejoiced in feeling itself adorned with the grace of a twofold gift, and because, oppressed by the exceeding malice of adversaries, it hoped to be for ever bettered by such aid. Moreover, holy Mother Church was joyful in being enriched by her Spouse with so great a dowry, by which she might shine the brighter in the light of good works, and might always be growing towards the highest point of holiness and righteousness. For, delivered to the womb of this preeminent teaching (not to speak in the choice phrases of scholarly learning), first of all in the calm sanctuary of its holy study, they were washed in the bright font of saving water, in the seven steps of which pure fluid they obtained the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, were sprinkled with the episcopal blessing, and anointed with the holy chrism.[2] Most excellently supported on every side by these gifts, they strove to live virgins; and carefully preserving a chaste body, in seven courses of days that increased seven times seven and one[3] added, they hoped to gain the enjoyments of one jubilee, that is, the year of endless felicity, For, marked by a singular beauty of holiness, bound in the closest yoke of charity, rich in the duties of meek humility, blessed with the distinction of unconquerable patience, adorned with the inmost grace of unwearying prayer, they were fulfilled with abundant reflections of the goodness of the Father of spirits. Having thus, according to our ability, given a foretaste of those plants of virtue naturally rooted in them, we will now attempt to give a brief account of the way in which they were called, through the crown of martyrdom, to the inheritance of the joys of the kingdom of heaven.

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[1] An allusion, apparently, to the dignity of the Bretwalda.

[2] Allusion is here made to the custom of giving unction immediately after baptism, which is said to have been introduced by pope Silvester the First. Illustrations of this rite may be seen in Martene, de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, l. xv. § 2; Durant, de Ritibus Eccl. Cath. I. xix. § 33.

[3] Beda (Opp. vii. 52, ed. fol. Basil.) enlarges upon the mystical meaning of the numbers forty-nine and fifty; affirming that the latter of these typifies the state of our resurrection to eternal life. See also the same volume, p. 60, col. 2, line 1.

Both of their parents, then, being delivered from the misery of this life, while as yet they were in the helplessness of childhood, they were handed over to their relative, king Egbert, the king's brother,[1] in order that they might be educated in the exercises of sound learning, and might receive that training which human weakness renders necessary. But such good intentions were opposed by the envenomed weapons of iniquity and hatred, which the sons of unbelief always employ against the children of God. For in the royal palace was found a certain man of sin, and son of perdition, a limb of Satan, and of the house of the devil, who, puffed up with the empty pomp of the world, and graced by the munificence of the king, neither feared God nor regarded man. He, as by his exceeding craving after honour, entered above all into the counsels of the ruler, so was he vainly exalted by the rank favour of human levity; Haman was excited to put Mordecai to a cruel death on the gallows, on which he, bound in an unexpected way, was himself afterwards hanged. This man moreover was appropriately named Thunur, which means "Thunder," for he was unceasingly tormented by deadly furies of wicked spirits, by whose hideous tumults he should be sunk in the pit of hell.[2] Seeing then those happy whom we have before stated to have lived in so blessed a manner, defiled by the foul itching of corrupt thoughts, he began, in the filthy sty of his ungodly mind, to deliberate by what vile contrivances he might put them to death. Therefore, as with the tooth of a dog, he presumed to gnaw at their good fame in the presence of many of the courtiers, and in his mad detraction of them, to propound to the king such things as these: "Since, most gracious king, by your active mind and dexterous management, by the strength of your ready talent, and the able equity of your government, the very large extent of the kingdoms subject to your majesty is ordered with a most wise balance of justice, it is equally important, not only that the sceptre of the realm should be guided and directed by the firm rod of power, but also that the glory of a sound peace should protect your renowned race. For, in the case of yourself, you would not be so much harassed by the clouds of anxiety, were it not that you are blessed with noble specimens of sons, the illustrious successors of your dignity. Wherefore we consider it necessary that the path of tranquillity should be rendered easy to them, so that the state of which they are to have the charge, may be shaken by no stormy waves, and agitated by no grievous discords. May all happiness, abounding in all good things, smile on them; may constant joy flow on them, filled with continual delight. But I seem to perceive that great injury to this happy state may arise from yourself, in consequence of your cherishing with care those who will some day presume to usurp to themselves the highest dignity of your kingdom, and to effect a revolution. You grant such things to them as are prejudicial to yourself and your posterity. I speak of those offshoots in your dignity, the youngsters Ethelred and Ethelbyrht, who are promoted rather to the hurt, than the advancement of you and your children. Therefore, having examined how far this my intimation of an obvious calamity be correct, let the speedy decision of reason be put in force against them. I believe that your common advantage would be consulted, either by your ordering them into a long exile from the country, or by speedily permitting me to put them to death."

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[1] About A.D. 664, in which year Egbert succeeded to the throne, on the death of his father Earconbert, the uncle of these two martyrs. See Beda, Eccl. Hist. § 172.

[2] From these and other expressions it is not improbable that Thunor was a heathen, and that his hatred of the royal youths arose from their Christianity. It was not until the reign of Eadbald, that the old pagan Saxon idols were destroyed in the kingdom of Kent. See Beda, Eccl. Hist. § 172.

The king winked at these things, not asserting that he was averse to either plan; and Thunur earnestly urging him to assent to the deed, and often recurring to this, whilst the king coldly and weakly opposed it, he strove in desperate audacity for their destruction. Oh, the cunning craftiness of the treacherous against the guiltless! Oh, the fierce rage of the deceitful against the innocent! No gentle affectionate feelings of kindness, no bowels of mercy are there in them. All their thoughts are bitter, and all their device is like poison. But why need we dwell on this? The same destroying fury is armed against himself by the deadly malice with which, in the absence of the king, he proceeded to stretch out his hands against the necks of the innocent, meekly bent to God.

By this plan of the malicious persecutor the martyrs of Christ were crowned with the palm of victory, and being received by Christ into the inheritance of eternal life, rejoice with the angels of heaven. But the precious bodies of these noble champions were ordered by him to be interred in the earth in a disgraced part of the royal courts, supposing that what the invention of senseless wickedness had effected, by the infamous malice of the murderer, would long be concealed from all. But though bewailed by no sigh heaved for them, by no sounding service of ten-stringed instruments, no stately honour of Ambrosian hymns, nor Gregorian organ uttering sweet harmony, yet there were not wanting bounties of manifold power from the highest Deity.

For, in the dead of night, there appeared from God a glittering pillar of light shining over the hall of the king's palace, which by its unwonted illumination aroused many of the king's household; and they in their great astonishment uttering loud cries, the king was awakened, and, ignorant of what had occurred, arose from his bed, and set out to go to the hymns of matins while it was yet night. On leaving the house, he saw a globe of extraordinary splendour burning with a white flame, the origin of which proceeded from the aforesaid wonderful seat of light. Greatly astonished indeed at the sight of so strange an appearance, the anxious king became agitated with trouble of mind, both as to where they were whom he had seen the day before, and concerning the conference which the servant of iniquity had formerly held with him respecting the destruction of the martyrs. Then, the author of this enormous crime being speedily summoned, he inquired at what distance from the country his relatives were placed, of the great happiness of whose beautiful presence he was deprived. The villanous murderer, turning a deaf ear to these pricking questions, and growling out with the voice of Cain—and worse than he in haughty pride of heart—that he knew not, the king, as one terrified by the brightness of the divine light, is said to have addressed him with a threatening countenance in these terms, "You always spoke evil things to me concerning them; you talked wickedly and abominably of their exile and their death; you uttered many outrageous slanders against them. You, O wretch, must make me fully acquainted as to where they are to be found, whom you persecuted with intense eagerness of hatred and evil intention." To this replied that vile and foul sink of iniquity, "Their dead bodies lie under the site of your dwelling." What could the king do? For struck with a paroxysm of fear, he stood stupefied and grieved to the utmost, because tormented by the sting of conscience that he shared in the infamy; since he had not strongly resisted the enemy of goodness, and because he was unable to avenge what had so wrongfully been perpetrated. At the first dawn of day, summoning the earls and chiefs of his kingdom on whom he then depended, with the bishops, among whom was the archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great blessedness, Deusdedit by name,[1] he hastened to the spot where these innocents were laid, dug up the earth with a spade, and uncovered their sacred bodies, murdered and dishonourably buried. Alas, how dead must have been his feelings if he had not wept, when he saw the innocent children of his uncle slain! How hard must have been his heart if he had not been overwhelmed with grief, when he saw his near relations dyed in their innocent blood! What showers of tears must he have shed, when he saw such rare flowers of nobility consigned to an untimely grave!

To the funeral solemnities of man were added mighty works of the everlasting God; for though they were crowned on the throne of the kingdom of eternity, He deigned to visit them, even here, with the wondrous working of his power. These things happened in the royal vill called, in the common tongue, Easterige.[2] When, therefore, the most precious bodies of these holy innocents were to be deposited in the bosom of the earth, it was intended that, being carried to the city of Canterbury, they should be buried in the monastery of Christ; but they could not be moved from the place in which they had been laid. They proposed to carry them to very many and honourable places, but the arms of those who laid hold of the coffins became powerless. At length a better design being discovered, that they should be carried to the famous monastery called Wakering,[1] they were then raised with such unexpected ease and swiftness, that there seemed no difficulty in the carriage so long desired. On their arrival they were received with rich chanting of hymns and sweet melody of psalms, with full-sounding chorus and jubilant cymbals, and were admitted to an honoured burial behind the high altar. For many years after they had been laid here, the Most High God, who has respect unto the lowly, but beholds the proud afar off, was pleased to enrich them with frequent miracles, two of the latest of which I shall make known in this treatise.

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[1] Gotscelin, and from him Capgrave, here speaks of archbishop Theodore, instead of Deusdedit, and apparently more correctly, since Deusdedit died in 664, the year of Ecgbert's accession.

[2] Now Eastry, near Sandwich.

It happened that a certain man, coveting his neighbours' goods, carried off secretly a sheep belonging to a poor man, which bearing on his shoulders, with its feet tied, he designed to convey past the monastery of the holy martyrs: but he was not able; he could carry it there, but he had no power to bear it thence. The perpetrator of this crime was at once deprived of the breath of life, and struck dead to the ground, having the sheep alive in his hands, the man on whom the robbery had been committed pursuing him. The guiltless received his own, and left the guilty, cut off by death through the speedy vengeance of the holy innocents. Running forthwith to the porter, he inquired if he had put the robber to death, and learnt that he was slain by no mortal hand. Receiving permission to carry back what was his own, he returned cheerful and rejoicing to his home, giving many thanks to God and the saints.

Having, therefore, to the best of my ability, correctly related the sufferings of the holy martyrs, it remains that I briefly state the manner in which the divine vengeance fell upon the unjust judge, the author of their most sacred death. They had a sister, on both the father's and mother's side, named Eormenburg or Domneva,[2] who became the wife, by lawful marriage, of Mearwold,[3] king of the Mercians. King Ecgberht, sending one to carry his message, invited her to visit him. She was received, when she came, by all the chiefs of the kingdom, with the respectful honour and magnificence which were due to her. The king, therefore, designing to honour her, desired that she might ask whatever she wished within the compass of his power to bestow, if it were a thing becoming his dignity, and she should immediately receive it. The holy woman, in a meek reply, begged that he would grant her only as much land as a doe which she had brought up, guided by divine instinct, could travel over in one day. The king, well pleased, immediately ordered a party of the earls to be in readiness on the morrow, attended by whom he would proceed in ships to the Isle of Thanet. Having arrived there, and she with the doe having made the voyage to the island, the doe pointed out the way, and was followed by the king and the handmaid of Christ, with the military array on horseback. A very large portion being now encompassed, the infamous murderer was moved by spite, and as if out of fidelity to the king, to whom it appeared as if nothing would be left out of his lavish kindness, he began, as if sympathizing in his ways, to chatter in this manner: "Since all your actions are guided by acute judgment, why do you follow, in this devout procession, this brute animal, as if it could perform something wonderful?" As he said this, struck by the bolt of the Almighty, he fell from his steed. Immediately the very wretched Thunor was swallowed up, with his horse and arms, in a frightful chasm of the earth. The king, with all his comrades, seized with excessive terror, hastily ordered his body to be covered with an immense heap of stones, the soul being reserved for everlasting burning in the dreadful fires of hell, of the pains of which it has been said, "Souls shall pass from the pangs of snows to devouring flames." This place is called by wayfarers "Thunerhleap," and it still retains the name.[1] This raging murderer having been visited by the catastrophe of so awful a death, and, instead of pleasure, suffering the penalty of torments, the before-mentioned animal made a path for those who accompanied it, as the will of God permitted, and then stood still, to the wonder of all. The king, startled by the miracle which he had seen, did as he had promised, confirmed it with his own hand, and so returned home.

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[1] "Ad monasterium Wacrinense;" viz. Wakering in Essex, as appears from Gotscelin and Capgrave, who, however, give no account of the manner in which the bodies reached that monastery.

[2] The pedigree of Ermenburga is carefully examined by Henschenius, Acta SS. Mens. Feb. iii. 389, §§ 3, 4.

[3] Merewald was one of the under-kings of Mercia, and ruled over the eastern part of that extensive district (Flor. of Worcester, ad an. 675) occupied by the "Westan Hecani." (Flor. Appen. ii. 396 of this Series.)

This woman, a lover of holy virtue and specially chosen of God, founded a church upon this island, dedicated to the blessed Mother of God, Mary the perpetual virgin, in memory of the innocent martyrs of Christ, her brothers, and soon after placed there her daughter Mildryda, a virgin of virtuous disposition, educated in ecclesiastical discipline in foreign parts, and gathered there seventy nuns, consecrated by the holy archbishop Deusdedit. There the mother of the blessed Mildritha, after the lapse of many years, having shown forth many virtues, and edified many souls of men and virgins whom she strengthened in Christ, obtained with the lamp of righteousness to hear from Christ the words, "Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come from Lebanon; come, and thou shalt be crowned."[2] The soul, carried to the court of heaven, received from Christ the incorruptible prize of victory, to reign with Him and his saints in eternal glory. To her succeeded in the government of the monastery her illustrious daughter, whom she had carefully educated, the aforesaid noble Mildrytha, unwearied in the service of Christ, a most holy virgin, greatly embellished with the grace of miracles.

Of these I shall relate one, which undoubtedly proves that God had done for her many things unutterable by mortal man; for at a certain time, somewhat overcome by sleep, she was resting on a couch, her limbs wearied with protracted labour, an angel of God, in the form of a dove, attended her, resting on her head to protect her from the illusion of evil spirits. This holy virgin, like her blessed mother, leaving a good example to those who followed, the Almighty Father of spirits taking her soul unto Himself, amidst the tears of earth and the rejoicings of heaven, now lives in everlasting happiness, her sacred body receiving a fitting place of sepulture in the church of the blessed Mother of God, Mary, perpetual virgin. Having thus related the sudden destruction of the bloody persecutor of the blessed martyrs, and then glanced at the honourable deeds of their sister and niece, to whom at the same time to live was Christ and to die was gain, we must haste, for his sake and by his help, to narrate other events, preserving the order of history.

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[1] Gotscelin and Capgrave call the place "Thundreahleau," i. e. "the tomb of Thuner;" this was probably the reading of Symeon; but the scribe has mistaken the Saxon w (ƿ) for p, an error of no unfrequent occurrence.

[2] Canticles, ii. 10.

In the beginning of this work I have accurately recounted the succession of the Kentish kings; I must now set forth that of the Northumbrians, that we may come to the times of those of whom there is no history, after the death of the venerable priest Beda.

King Ida[1] reigned eleven years; after whose death Glappa reigned one year, whose successor, Adda, held the power of the kingdom for eight years. He being cast into the lower regions, as he deserved, Ethelric obtained the earthly kingdom, which he held seven years. He, going into the depth of hell, left the empire to Theoderic; who, after reigning four years, lost at once his kingdom and his life, going into outer darkness, where, bound in heavy chains, he is compelled to undergo a miserable servitude.[2] After him Frithuwold held the sceptre for seven years, and, departing this life, left the monarchy to king Hussa. He, after exercising imperial authority for seven years, learnt in his own experience the truth of the saying,

> "High glory death despises;
> Upon the lofty and the lowly head
> He falls alike; bringing to equal level
> The high and lowly born."

Eighth in the kingdom shone Ethelfryth, the bravest of kings, who, after a reign of twenty-eight years, lost his life and kingdom. To him succeeded king Edwin, who, receiving the faith of Christianity, earned the reward of heaven as king and martyr, after having reigned in honour and dignity for seventeen years. After him, the most christian king Oswald received the kingdom of the Northumbrians, which he held eight years; and when he, who sought the joys of a better country, that is a heavenly, had ascended thither, king Oswy succeeded to the cares of state for twenty-eight years. On his removal from earth to heaven, he committed the earthly kingdom to Egfrid, who held it fifteen years. He was slain by the Picts in an unjust invasion of Ireland, and in his stead, his brother Alfrid reigned nineteen years. To Alfrid succeeded his son Osred for eleven years. He being slain, Coenred held rule for eleven years. Osric succeeded him in the kingdom for eleven years. Ceolwlf the brother of Coenred succeeded Osric for eight years. To him the historian Beda dedicated his History of the Angles. In the fourth year of the aforesaid king Egfrid, a noble monastery was built at Wearmouth, [1]and in the seventh year of his reign the great Beda was born. How this was brought about the truthful Beda tells in his life of his blessed abbot Benedict, and of Ceolfred, which he has narrated in pleasing style, and copies of which are to be found in most places. This place was built and consecrated in honour of Peter, the chief of the apostles. Moreover another monastery was built in reverence of Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, at the place called Et Gyrvum.[2]

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[1] The succession of the early kings of Bernicia, as here given, differs from that adopted by Florence of Worcester; to which, however, it seems preferable, when we consider the relative opportunities of the two authors for obtaining trustworthy information.

[2] These all died in heathendom; hence the expressions used by Simeon.

Having stated these things, we must now insert in this work some of the events which occurred in the days of those abbots, that those who have not read their lives, may hear how great a light of Christianity shone at that time in those regions, as Beda narrates in his treatises.

[3]There was a man of holy life, Benedict by grace as by name, who, from his very childhood, possessed the discretion of an old man, for, passing the flower of his age in virtue, he gave not one thought to pleasure. He was born of a noble race among the Angles, but raised by the no less nobility of his mind to the well deserved fellowship of angels. At length, when he was the minister of king Oswy, and had received by his gift an estate suitable to his rank, he set light by the perishable possession, that he might gain the eternal. He despised earthly warfare with its corruptible rewards, that fighting for the true King he might earn an everlasting kingdom of heavenly bliss. He left his home, his friends, and his country, for Christ and the Gospel, that he might receive an hundredfold, and inherit everlasting life. He rejected earthly nuptials, that he might be able to follow the pure Lamb, in the glory of virginity, in the kingdom of heaven. He refused to beget mortal children in the flesh, having been predestined by Christ to bring up for Him, in spiritual learning, sons ever abiding in a heavenly life. Leaving his country, therefore, he went to Rome, bent on worshipping at the tomb of the blessed apostles, with love to whom he had ever been inflamed; and afterwards returning to his country, he ceased not earnestly to love, to honour, and to inculcate on whom he could, those institutes of ecclesiastical life which he had witnessed. He journeyed again to the gates of the holy apostles, in the time of Pope Vitalian; and, going thence, he joined the convent of

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[1] The following thirteen words occur on the margin of the MS.

[2] Namely, Jarrow.

[3] This narrative is based upon Beda's Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, which have already been printed in this Collection.

monks in the island of Lirins, received the tonsure, and after remaining there two years, again yielding to his love of the blessed Peter, he determined once more to tread his sacred threshold. At this time the apostolic pope sent bishop Theodore and abbot Adrian, with the man of God, Benedict, to the Anglican nation. Who shall declare how many divine volumes, how many relics of the blessed apostles or martyrs of Christ, Benedict brought over? King Egfrid at that time held the kingdom of the Northumbrians under his pious rule; in whose sight he found such favour of extreme kindness, that he very soon bestowed on him, out of his own estates, a possession of seventy hides of land, and enjoined the first pastor of the church to found thereon a monastery at the mouth of the river Wear, on the left bank, A.D. 674, in the second indiction, but in the fourth year of the reign of this king. After this he obtained masons, and invited glass-makers, and abundantly supplied all that was necessary. He five times, as the history of his life shows, crossed the stormy waves of the ocean; he brought so great gifts and offerings of every kind that they cannot be recounted for multitude.

King Egfrid, then, highly delighted with the virtue, diligence, and piety of the venerable Benedict, when he saw the land which he had given to build the monastery so well and beneficially applied, had the zeal to add, in his royal bounty, a further gift of forty hides. Oh, gracious kindness of Christ! Oh, kindly piety of the king! who not only willingly bestowed his goods upon the good, but had the disposition to increase it, in fulfilment of that which is written, "Did not his heart burn within him?" [St. Luke xxiv. 32.] Woe to the enemies of Christ! Woe to those who destroy and burn up the temples of God! They themselves shall be burned, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. But of them let us now be silent, and speak only of matter of rejoicing. In the course of twelve months, about seventeen monks were assembled, Ceolfrid being appointed as their provost and priest.

But Benedict the servant of Jesus Christ, by the advice, yea even command, of the aforesaid king Egfrid, founded another monastery, in honour of the most holy apostle Paul, not far from the former; for this purpose, namely, that between the two places peace and concord alone, and the same intimacy and kindness, might ever be kept up; so that as, so to say, the body cannot be severed from the head by which it breathes, nor the head be forgetful of the body, without which it cannot exist, so no one should attempt, by any effort, to create discord between these monasteries of the chief apostles, united in motherly alliance.

The man of God, Benedict, finally appointed the most reverend Ceolfrid over the monastery of St. Paul the apostle; and Eosterwin he preferred as abbot in the convent of St. Peter the apostle. But Benedict did this in order that a guardianship according to rule should always be kept up, lest on account of the increase of his labour, the rule of holy discipline might be indifferently preserved. And even the great abbot Benedict himself, as the holy pope Gregory tells of him, appointed under himself twelve abbots, without any loss, nay to the increase of love. Eosterwin then received the charge of governing the monastery, in the ninth year of its foundation, and remained in it until his death, which occurred four years afterwards; a man noble in worldly rank, but using external nobility not, as do some, as a matter of vainglory and to the despising of others, but, as becomes the servant of God, converting it to the greater nobility of the soul. For he was the cousin by the father's side to his abbot Benedict; but so great was the simplicity of both, such their utter contempt of worldly honour, that neither did the one who entered the monastery suppose that any honour was to be sought by him on account of regard to relationship or rank, nor did the other think of offering any, but the well-disposed young man gloried in observing strict discipline in all things in equal measure with his brethren. And indeed, although he had been the minister of king Egfrid, yet, worldly affairs being once relinquished, his arms laid aside, the spiritual warfare taken up, he remained so humble and so like the rest of his brethren, that he delighted to winnow and thrash with them, to milk the sheep and heifers, to be employed, cheerfully and obediently, in the bakehouse, the garden, the kitchen, and all the labours of the monastery. But also, after taking the title of abbot, he preserved the same disposition towards all, according to the admonition of a certain wise man, "They have made thee a ruler, be not puffed up; but be amongst them as one of themselves." For he was mild, affable, and kind to all; and although, when occasion required, restraining offenders by strict discipline, yet still more, by natural earnest intercourse, careful to warn them against the desire to sin, and so to hide, under the cloud of their iniquity, the clear light of his countenance. Often in travelling anywhere on the business of the monastery, when he found the brethren at work, he was wont at once to take part in their labour, either guiding the plough, or shaping the iron with the hammer, or brandishing the winnowing-fan in his hand, or doing any other work of the same kind. For he was a young man of great strength, and pleasing in speech; cheerful moreover in disposition, full of kindness, and of an agreeable aspect. He always, when at home, lived upon the same food as the rest of the brethren. He slept in the same common dormitory which he had occupied before he became abbot; so that even when seized by death, and conscious, by unmistakeable tokens, of his own departure, he yet lay two days in the dormitory of the brethren. For, five days before the hour of his departure, he removed into a more private dwelling; there, one day, leaving the house and sitting in the open air, having summoned all the brethren, he, according to his kindly nature, gave the kiss of peace to them as they were weeping and mourning over the departure of so good a father and pastor. He died on the night of the nones of March [7th March], the brethren being engaged in chanting the lauds of the morning psalms. He was twenty-four years of age when he went to the monastery; he lived in it twelve years; seven years he discharged the office of the priesthood, during four of which he held the government of the monastery; and so, leaving the earthly body and its perishable members, he sought the heavenly kingdom, there to be crowned with a twofold diadem, according to the import of his name, that is, Easter and Wine, he being noted for his participation of the true passover, which is the true triumphal song. But having briefly premised these things from the life of the venerable Easterwine, let us resume the thread of our narrative.

He being appointed abbot of the monastery of St. Peter the apostle, and Ceolfrid ruler of that of St. Paul, not long after, Benedict, the courageous soldier of the Lord, travelling for the fifth time from Britain to Rome, returned as usual enriched with innumerable donations of things useful to the church.

And soon after this, the blessed Benedict began to sink under an attack of disease; and his health gradually failing for three years, he was disabled by paralysis, and became altogether deadened in the whole of the lower limbs, the upper part of the body alone, without whose vitality man cannot exist, being kept alive for the exercise of virtue and of patience. Both abbots, Benedict namely and Sigfrid, were always, in their trouble, earnest in thanksgiving to their Maker, and occupied themselves in the praises of God and in brotherly exhortations.

He held many conferences with the brethren, and was wont earnestly to impress upon them this charge: That in the election of an abbot they should not imagine that regard ought to be paid to nobility of race, but that they should consider purity of life and doctrine as the chief requisites. But when both abbots, worn out by long-continued sickness, perceived themselves on the point of death, and unable to rule the monastery in so great weakness of the flesh, the strength of Christ was perfected in them. On a certain day, desiring to see and converse with each other before their departure from this life, Sigfrid was carried on a litter to the chamber where Benedict also lay on his couch, and being laid together in one place by the hands of their attendants, their heads rested, a mournful spectacle, on one pillow; and they had only so much strength remaining, that they could join their lips, placed close together, in kissing each other. Benedict, entering into sound consultation with him and the whole of the brethren, sent for the abbot Ceolfrid, whom he had placed over the monastery of St. Paul the apostle, a man related to him not so much by human alliance as by fellowship in virtues; and, all agreeing and considering it a most advantageous measure, he appointed him father over both monasteries, considering it in all respects wholesome for the preservation of peaceful unity and concord between the places, that they should always have one father and ruler; often mentioning the example of the kingdom of Israel, which always remained indestructible and inviolate by foreign nations, so long as it was governed by single rulers, and those of their own race; but afterwards, when, on account of their previous sins, it was torn asunder by fierce internal contests, it perished by degrees; and, shaken from its basis, was destroyed.

At length, after they had completed all that concerned the things of God, after the lapse of two months, first the venerable abbot Sigfrid, beloved of God, having passed through the fire and water of temporal tribulation, was taken to the enjoyment of eternal rest, and entered on his abode in the heavenly kingdom with offerings of endless rejoicings.

Four months later, Benedict, the conqueror of sin, subdued by weakness of body, approached his latter end. Then he, so admirably accomplished in virtues, shone at the period of his departure by his utter defiance of the bands of the enemies. He so fought the good fight of holy faith, so employed the talents committed to his charge, so preserved the fruit of rare chastity, and kept the oil within the secret chamber of his heart, that he was counted worthy to enter into the holy of holies, and to receive the liberty of the year of jubilee.

"Chill night comes on with wintry blasts,"

soon to give place to a holy day of eternal blessedness, peace, and light.

The holy servant of God received as a viaticum, at the very hour of his departure, the sacrament of the Body and Blood of his Lord; and so that holy soul, long tried and purified by the flames of blessed suffering, left the earthen tenement of the flesh, and sped, free, to the glory of supreme felicity. This pious confessor rested in the Lord in the sixteenth year after he had founded the monastery, on the day before the ides of January [12th Jan. A.D. 690].

The abbot Ceolfrid, in all respects illustrious, a man acute in genius, bold in action, mature in mind, fervent in religious zeal, pious, as I before said, by the command and with the assistance of Benedict, founded, finished, and ruled over the monastery of St. Paul the apostle for seven years, and then presided for twenty-eight years, with able rule, over the two monasteries; or, to speak more correctly, over the one monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, situated in two places; and all things which his predecessor with admirable and pious pains had commenced, he took care diligently to complete. He built, therefore, many altars, he made oratories, he augmented vestments of every kind, he procured three copies of the Bible, two of which he left to the two monasteries. He received from pope Sergius a charter of privileges for the monastery, which, being brought and laid before the synod, was confirmed by the signature of the great king Alfrid. But when, after great observance of strict discipline, after incomparable diligence in prayer and praise, after wonderful vigour in restraining the evil and gentleness in comforting the weak, after abstinence in meat and drink, and poverty of clothing unusual in rulers, he perceived that, growing old and full of days, he was no longer able, either by his teaching or his living, to set before those under him a rule of spiritual practice; giving for a long time much thought to the matter, he decided that it was expedient that, a mandate being issued to the brethren according to the statutes of their privilege, and according to the rule of the holy abbot Benedict, they might choose from among their number a father who should be more suitable than himself. What the devout father desired was done, though all at first resisted, and with tears and sighs bent their knees in repeated dissuasions.

Hwetbyrht, therefore, was elected, a good and just man, who had been a disciple of abbot Sigfrid, to whose consecration bishop Acca was invited, who admitted him to the office of abbot with the usual benediction. The holy man Ceolfrid set out for the gates of the most holy prince of the apostles; but, before he could arrive there, he was attacked by the illness of which he died. But the discharged soldier reached Langres about the third hour of the day on the seventh of the calends of October [25th Sept.], as we have said, and took up his quarters in the meadows of that city. And it so fell out, by the will of God, that on that day, about the tenth hour, he departed to the Lord. His sacred body was buried in the church of the holy martyrs Speusippus, Eleusippus, and Meleusippus, where many miracles and works of healing are witnessed, the gifts of Him who is wont to assist his saints militant here, and to crown the victors hereafter.

These accounts we have extracted from the writings of the blessed Beda. We must now say something of him, recalling the memory of his holiness, and grateful for his labours. For, speaking of the annals, that is, the records of each year, he says:—

"Let him peruse this work, who longs to know
The chronicles of years, watching the tide
Of age and waning life. Time governs all,
Leads all in triumph, changes in their turns
The elements and seasons; days and nights
Alternate lengthen. The flowers have their time
To show their beauties, the harvest has its season
To yield a bounteous increase, when the plains,
Clothed with rich store of grain, rejoice and sing.
Seasons there are of gladness, and of grief.
Life has its period, so has bitter death;
Time's hour glides on, ages in moments fly;
Time all he gives, inconstant, takes away;
Spring, summer, autumn, winter come and go."
These lines of truthful eloquence proceed
From the smooth pen of venerable Bede.

I shall here insert the verses which he composed for bishop Acca,[1] on the "Day of Judgment." Yet I shall not do this with strict accuracy; and as I do not know in what position to place them, I beg the indulgence of the learned.

"Seated alone upon the flowery turf,
Beneath the branches of a shady tree
Which rustled in the breeze, sad and oppress'd
With heavy thought, I sang this mournful song;
Remembering with deep grief, the sins and stains
Which mark'd my life, the dreaded hour of death;
The judgment of the awful day, when all
The race of man, divided, shall receive,
The righteous—joy; the wicked—endless pain.
Recalling this,—I pray'd in accents low,
'Open warm fountains of my heart; whilst I
Smite on my guilty breast, and, with my face

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[1] In Petrie's edition these verses have been collated and corrected by the aid of a copy of the tenth century, in the Cottonian MS. Domit. A. i. fol. 51.

Low in the dust, recite deserved woes,
Pour out, I pray you, floods of bitter tears,
And with sad voice confess your sins to Christ.
Keep not one fault conceal'd within your breast;
Let all your foulest crimes be brought to light
In free confession of the heart and tongue.
This the soul's only safe and certain hope,
That, grieving, you lay bare your wounds with tears
Before the great Physician, who can heal
The wounded, loose the bound, and will not crush
The afflicted soul, nor quench the smoking flax.
Let the repentant thief a pattern be
Of true confession, and its blest result;
Who, crucified for his unholy deeds,
Yet in the hour of death cried out in prayer,
And, by that one expression of his faith,
Was blest that day with Christ in Paradise.
Why then defer, O Soul, so long to lay
Thyself all open to that healing hand?
Or why, O tongue, be silent, while yet time
Remains for pardon, and the Almighty's ear
Is ever open to thy faintest cry?
The day approaches when the Judge of all
Shall come, his rightful reckoning to demand.
Prevent with tears his wrath. Why yet remain
In crime's pollution, full of stains, O flesh?
Why not wash out, with floods of tears, thy sins,
And beg the healing balm, while yet the grace
Of tears is granted? To repent is joy,
To weep is health. For God, the Eternal Judge,
Is merciful to those who judge themselves,
Nor visits twice for sins by penance purged.
Despise not then the accepted day of grace;
For torments dire await the impenitent,
When from his throne on high the awful Judge
Shall come, strict reckoning to demand from all.
Wonders and signs his coming shall announce;
The earth shall tremble, hills and mountains fall;
Sea and waves roaring, minds perplex'd with fear,
The sky obscured, the stars shall fall from heaven,
The sun be darken'd in the burning east,
The pallid moon shall not afford her light,
But death-announcing signs appear in heaven.
The angelic powers, in glorious array
Assembled, shall surround the heavenly King,
Sitting exalted on his holy seat.
In gather'd crowds before Him we shall stand,
Each to receive according to his deeds.
Before that great tribunal, think what dread
Shall fill all hearts with feelings of dismay;
When countless angels, at the King's command,
Shall bring before Him all who ever lived,
All who live now, and all who shall live after.
All secrets of all hearts shall be made known;
What heart, or tongue, or hand in darkness wrought,
What now you, blushing, dread shall be reveal'd,
Shall then be open laid before all worlds.
Avenging flames shall fill the vault of heaven,
Hasting to take fierce vengeance upon crime,
And sparing, in their fury, none but those
Who thither come from all pollution cleansed.
Nations and tribes shall smite their guilty breasts;
Peasant and prince shall tremble, side by side,
And poor and rich, in equal rank, shall dread
Flames and the undying worm, the sinner's doom.
None in the presence of that Judge can plead
His own deserts; but every heart shall fail,

While utter dread o'erwhelms the sinner's soul.
What wilt thou do, O flesh, in that dread hour,
Which once you joy'd to use in sinful lusts,
When sin is made the means of punishment?
Dost thou not fear the fiery condemnation
Assign'd of old to Satan's wicked host?
Whose pains no heart of man can e'er conceive,
Far less his tongue find language to express:
The depth of hell fill'd with eternal flames,
And chilling cold mix'd with the burning heat,
Whose dreadful alternations never end.
There in the murky night of pitchy blackness,
No sound is heard around but wailings dire,
The face of tortured wretches only seen,
And nought is felt but icy cold or flames,
While vapours of corruption taint the air.
The groaning mouth is choked with flaming fire;
The worm for ever gnaws the tortured flesh,
And bitter pangs of care torment the heart;
Because the flesh, indulged for a brief space,
Earn'd an eternity of penal chains,
Where not one spark of light is ever seen,
Nor peace, nor pity, nor a hope of rest
Dawns on the wretched, every solace fled;
No help, no thought of joy can ever come;
But grief and groaning, tumult, fear and dread,
Loathing and bitterness, and wrath, and pain,
Await the souls shut in the burning pit.
Ended are all the noxious joys of life;
Wine, feasting, laughter, saucy jokes and mirth,
Dull sleep, soft indolence, and heavy sloth;
All the unlawful pleasures of the flesh,
Enjoy'd in dissipation's giddy whirl,
Shall drown the wretches in eternal flames.
O blest, O ever blest, who shall escape
That dire destruction, and with saints rejoice
Through endless ages! He with Christ shall reign
In heavenly kingdoms, where no night shall dim
The sun's bright lustre; there no grief or sighs
Shall ever come, no age and no decay,
Nor hunger, thirst, fatigue, nor any toil.
Banish'd for ever sickness, fevers, plagues,
And chills and heats, griefs and tormenting cares,
Thunder and lightning, wintry storms and snow,
Distress and want, misfortune, pain and death;
There reign for ever righteousness and peace,
Abounding goodness, never-ending joys,
Gladness and virtue, light and life eternal,
Glory and honour, rest and concord sweet.
For God Himself, for ever present, gives
To all his blessings, cherishes and fills,
And honours all, preserves and glorifies,
Adorns with love and favour all his saints,
Seats them exalted on celestial thrones,
Rewards their love with endless gifts of grace,
Them with angelic troops in order ranks,
With patriarchs and prophets, and the souls
Of apostolic rulers, heart-rejoicing,
A noble army over sin triumphant;
United also with the white-robed band
Of virgin souls which evermore surround
The blessed Virgin, Mother of our God,
And in their Father's kingdom shine resplendent;
Where holy sons, and fathers of the Church,
In peace eternal, form the heavenly court.
What then can be esteemed too hard toil
For man to suffer here, that he may win

Such grace hereafter, as with them to praise
For ever and for ever, Christ the Lord.
May Christ in peace and safety keep thy soul,
Brother beloved, and grant thee endless bliss.
At thy request, I wrote this song of grief;
Do thou fulfil thy promise, and commend
Thy poet in effectual prayer to Christ.
Live bless'd by God; and when thou bid'st farewell
To holy brethren, then, O Acca, father,
Remember me, disconsolate and sad,
In kindly prayer before the throne of Christ."

Having culled these flowers from the garden of this holy doctor of the Angles, let us take the commencement of this work from his history; beginning from his last sentence, and so recording the years of our Lord, and carefully arranging the periods of the kings; describing also, as briefly as possible, the life and miracles of other believers: for so, in the end of his history, says the blessed and truthful Beda, as is written in the commencement of this book.[1]

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We have accurately extracted what we have said from the account of Beda, the holy priest, and the writer of the history of this nation. To conclude then, he, at the age of seven, was sent by his relations to be educated by the very reverend abbot Benedict, and then by Ceolfrid; whose lives afterwards, when he had come to years, he so ably narrated. Passing the whole of his life in residence at the same monastery (namely, Jarrow), he gave all his attention to the study of Scripture; and along with the observance of the regular discipline, and the daily services of chanting in the church, he, thrice happy, always took pleasure in learning, or teaching, or writing. If any one wishes to know his performances more fully and perfectly, let him read the twenty-fifth chapter[2] of the History of the Angles, from which he may abundantly perceive the depth and sagacity of his learning. By the help of Christ's goodness, we shall pursue our work with care and skill, making this our petition:—

"Come, Holy Spirit, to whose will
The utterance of each word belongs;
Give to my tongue its gift, since still
From Thee proceeds the gift of tongues."

A.D. 732. Archbishop Berthwald died,[3] as we before said. In the same year, Tatwine was consecrated ninth archbishop of the church of Canterbury, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Ethilbald, king of the Mercians. In this year also, king Ceoluulf, being taken prisoner, received the tonsure, and was sent back into his kingdom. He was imbued with an extraordinary love of the Scriptures, as truthful Beda testifies in the beginning of his preface. In the same year, bishop Acca was driven from his see; and Cyneberht, bishop of the church of Lindisfarne, died. In this year also,

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[1] Simeon has here introduced a quotation from Beda, which it is unnecessary for us here to repeat, as it may be found in that author's Ecclesiastical History, §§ 449, 450, and part of 451.

[2] Of the Fifth Book.

[3] In 731; see Beda, Hist. Eccl. § 449.

Alric and Esc, with many others, were slain on Thursday the tenth of the kalends of September [23d August].

A.D. 733. Archbishop Tatwine, having received the pall from the apostolic authority, consecrated Alwig and Sigfrid bishops. On the nineteenth of the kalends of September [14th August], about the third hour of the day, there occurred an eclipse of the sun; so that nearly the whole of its disc appeared covered as with a very black and frightful shield.

A.D. 734. About cockcrow, on the second[1] of the kalends of February [31st Jan.], the moon was stained of a blood-red colour for about an hour; a blackness succeeding that, it resumed its own light.[2] In the same year, Tatwine, ninth archbishop of the city of Canterbury, died in Kent, on the third of the kalends of August [30th July]. The first bishop of that city was Augustin, the renowned instructor of the whole kingdom, and illustrious founder of Christianity, or of the Christian faith and religion. He, raised to the joys of the kingdom on high, left the sceptre of his important rule to Laurentius. He, deservedly called to be a citizen of heaven, entrusted the charge of the catholic church to bishop Mellitus. Mellitus next, after his laborious contests, like a veteran soldier, received the heavenly prize. After him, fourth in order, succeeded Justus; who, trusting in the Lord God, ascended victorious, as beseemed his name, to the height of virtue. Honorius (like one replete with honour) followed him; who, faithfully exercising the trust committed to his charge, reached the height of heaven according to his deserts. Deusdedit, sixth in succession, ascended the episcopal throne; and following the footsteps of the fathers, obtained an inheritance in the court of heaven. After him, rose up the very learned Theodore; who rendered the seventh place illustrious. Berthwald followed in the eighth place; to whom, as we before said, succeeded bishop Tatwine. In the same year, on the sixth of the ides of September [8th Sept.], Friothubert was consecrated bishop of the church of Hexham.

A.D. 735. Nothelm was consecrated archbishop; and Egberht, the first bishop of York after Paulinus, having received the pall from the apostolic see, was confirmed to the archiepiscopate of the nation of the Northumbrians. Beda, doctor, died at Jarrow.

A.D. 736. Nothelm, having received his pall from the Roman pontiff, consecrated three bishops; to wit, Cuthbert,[3] Heordwald, and Ethelfrid.

A.D. 737. Bishop Aldwine,[4] also called Wor, died; and in his place Hwicca and Tocca[5] were consecrated bishops of the Mercians and Middle Angles. In the same year, Celuulf resigned the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and became a monk in the island of Lindisfarne; and Eadberht, his uncle's son, succeeded in his stead.

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[1] More correctly, on the ninth of the calends of February.

[2] The Chronicle of Melrose, which has much in common with Simeon, states that at this point Beda completed his history; and that what follows is a compilation from various sources.

[3] Cuthbert was bishop of Hereford; it is probable that Herewald was bishop of Shirburn, and Ethelfrith was of Elmham; see the Appendix to Florence, pp. 375, 377, 378, under the respective sees.

[4] Bishop of Lichfield, Id. p. 380.

[5] The great see of Mercia was now subdivided, Hwicca (or as he is called

A.D. 738. Swebriht, king of the East Saxons, died.

A.D. 739.[1] Ethelheard, king of the West Saxons, died; and in his place, Cuthred, his brother, was made king. In this year also, archbishop Nothelm, after an episcopate of four years, departed in peace; and Aldulf, bishop of the church of Rochester, breathed his last.

A.D. 740. Ethelwald, bishop of the church of Lindisfarne, departed to the Lord, and Kynewlf succeeded him in the see.

In the same year, bishop Acca, of revered memory, was raised to the land of the living.[2] This blessed man was most vigorous in action, and had in honour before God and man. He was deeply skilled also in the rules of ecclesiastical discipline; and, to the end of his life, aimed at the highest rewards of pious devotion: forasmuch as from his childhood he was brought up and educated among the clergy of the most holy and beloved of God, Bosa, bishop of York. Going from thence, with a view to further progress, to bishop Wilfred, he spent his whole time in attendance on him until his death. With him journeying to Rome, he there learnt many useful institutes of holy church, which he could not acquire in his own country, and delivered them to those under him. This holy man was taken from this world on the thirteenth of the kalends of November [20th Octob.]; his spirit was carried by angels to the reward of supreme happiness; his body was buried on the outside of the wall, at the east end of the church of Hexham, over which he had ruled in episcopal dignity for twenty-four years. Two stone crosses, adorned with exquisite carving, were placed, the one at his head, the other at his feet. On one, that at his head, was an inscription stating that he was there buried. From this place, three hundred years after his burial, he was translated, in consequence of a divine revelation made to a certain priest, and was placed within a shrine in the church, with becoming honour: there he is to this day held in great veneration. As a testimony to all of the merit of his sanctity, the chasuble, tunic and sudarium, which were placed in the tomb with his sacred body, preserve to this day, not only their form, but their original strength. There was found upon his breast a wooden tablet, in the form of an altar, made of two pieces of wood joined with silver nails; on which is this inscription, "Alme Trinitati. agie. sophie. Sanctæ Mariæ." It is not known whether relics were placed in it, or why it was

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in the Appendix to Florence, p. 389, Huita) remaining at Lichfield; the other, occupied by Tocca, or Totta, after some migrations, ultimately was established at Lincoln.

[1] See the Chronicle of Melrose, A.D. 740.

[2] The Chronicle of Melrose here adds, that he was succeeded by Frithebert; so also the Appendix to Florence. The passage which follows, betrays the Hexham origin of this part of the work of Simeon. It should be compared with the treatise entitled, "De Sanctis Ecclesiæ Hagustaldensis, et eorum Miraculis," printed by Mabillon (Act. Bened. III. i. 204, ed. Venet.), of which a translation will be given in its due place in this series.

buried with him; but it cannot be supposed to have been enclosed with his sacred body, in such respect and veneration, without some reasonable devotional object. The brethren of the church of Hexham are wont frequently to show the aforesaid vestments to the people, by whom they are kissed with every mark of reverence. Very many miracles are also commonly reported of St. Acca; to give an account of all of which would occupy too much of our time. Yet it will be well briefly to record some of these; how, for instance, on many occasions, he wonderfully and fearfully restrained his adversaries, when attempting to invade the peace of the church in which he rests, or striving indeed entirely to overthrow the church itself; and how he very frequently opposed those who wished to carry off by stealth relics from his body.

There was in the aforesaid church of Hexham, a certain brother named Aldred, now resting in Christ, (a man most truthful, and remarkable for uprightness of character; he was well learned, moreover, in holy Scripture,) who was wont to relate to his brethren of the same church this miracle of St. Acca wrought upon himself. While he was yet a youth, and brought up in the house of his brother, a certain priest, who presided over the oft-named church of Hexham (before that, by the gifts of the second Thomas, archbishop of York, it was given up to the canons regular, who to this day serve God there); it was the wish of his said brother to separate the honoured bones of St. Acca, as yet mingled with the dust of his body, and to place them by themselves in a casket which he had prepared for that purpose. Bringing out, therefore, the revered relics, he deposited them on the altar of St. Michael, situated in the south aisle of the church; and there he collected the bones from the dust, and enclosed them, wrapped in a clean napkin, in the casket; and whilst he carried it to its proper place in the choir, he left the aisle, with the relics which remained, under the charge of his brother before named. While tarrying there alone, the thought entered his mind, that any, even a very noble church, would consider itself endowed with a precious gift, if it had but one of the bones of so glorious a confessor. He determined, therefore, to go to the altar and examine, if perchance he might find, among the dust, any of the small bones, which taking into his possession, he might bestow upon some church, to the honour of God and St. Acca. But not daring to do this irreverently, he first, prostrating himself on the ground, devoutly chanted the seven penitential Psalms, beseeching God not to visit him with his displeasure for such a theft, inasmuch as he designed doing it with no sacrilegious intention, but out of pious devotion and veneration. Rising after this supplication, he attempted to effect his object. When he approached the door of the inner aisle, in which were the sacred relics, lo! he suddenly encountered a heat, as of fire issuing from the mouth of a burning furnace, which compelled him to retreat in dismay. Supposing that this had occurred because he desired to obtain so great a thing with less than due devotion, again throwing himself on the ground, he poured forth to the Lord prayers much fuller and more earnest than before, that he might be enabled worthily to obtain what he so devoutly desired. Rising, therefore, after a short interval, he approached with fear and great reverence the door of the aisle; but was struck back by a much fiercer heat than before, issuing from it. Understanding from this, that it was not the will of God that he should carry off by stealth any of the relics of St. Acca, he did not venture to attempt it a third time.

But we must not pass by in silence another miracle concerning the same confessor, beloved of God, which many living to this day can testify to have been wrought by his relics. There came to the aforesaid church of Hexham a certain canon regular and priest, named Edric, who was sent there the first of the canons, by the venerable archbishop Thomas; he found when he came there, a heap of earth laid up beside the great altar, which was within the chancel of the church; and this he began to dig, with the intention of removing it. When he had dug away a part of it, he found a wooden casket of no great size; on opening which, he discovered two leaden seals with letters engraved on them signifying what was within. On one of them it was written that the relics of St. Acca were enclosed. Therefore, speedily breaking that, he found a dust like ashes, and some bones mixed with the dust, which he took out and replaced in a more handsome casket. There was then in that town a certain poor miserable nun, whom the aforesaid brother loved for her simplicity and the innocence of her life. She had been for a long time blind, so that she had to be led by another to church, or wherever she required to go. One day, the thought suddenly suggested itself to the aforesaid brother, that he would wash in holy water one of those bones which he had lately found, and give the woman some of that lotion, that she might wash her eyes in it, if perchance it might please God (the merits of his holy confessor Acca pleading for her) to restore sight to her eyes by this sacred washing. He acted upon this idea, suggested, as was afterwards evident, by divine inspiration. Washing one of the bones in holy water, he gave some to the woman, directing her to bathe her eyes in it. She did so, and in about the space of two hours, through the merits and intercessions of St. Acca, she recovered her sight.

There was likewise in the same town a certain poor man, whose throat had swelled, in consequence of an inward disease, to such a degree, that he could neither speak nor eat. When the same brother had poured a little of the same water into his mouth, the skin on the lower part of the swelling, after the space of an hour, suddenly burst, and so he was cured by the discharge of the tumour.

Nor would it be right to pass over in silence the way in which Malcolm, king of the Scots, was restrained from the invasion and violation of the peace of the church of Hexham by St. Acca, and the other saints who repose in it,—their merits acting as safeguards to it. For although it is very well known by common report, yet, lest in the lapse of time it should altogether pass from the memory of men, it should be committed to writing for the information of posterity. Malcolm,[1] then, king of the Scots, a man truly of most ferocious and brutal disposition, was wont by frequent incursions to make sad havoc in the province of Northumbria; and to convey from thence very many men and women captive to Scotland. When, upon a certain occasion, he had entered the boundaries of that province with a more numerous army than usual, intending to plunder it, the inhabitants, hearing of his approach, almost all fled, with what property they could carry, to the church of Hexham, that they might be under the protection of the saints who there reposed. When Malcolm discovered this, he determined to march thither, and despoil all who had taken refuge there, and entirely to destroy the church itself. The priest of the same church, hearing of this, went out to meet him, and admonished him not to commit such a crime against the saints of God, the patrons of that church; but he, despising his warning, thrust him from him with insult. The priest, hastily returning to the church, exhorted all who had taken refuge there together, earnestly to beseech the glorious saints of God, under whose protection they had placed themselves, that they would deign, with their wonted kindness, to defend them from so fierce a host of Scots, more savage than wild beasts. And so they did. On the following night, when the same priest had fallen asleep from sadness, there appeared to him a man of venerable countenance and demeanour, who, as if not knowing the cause, asked him why he was so sad. When he replied that he was in dread of the cruelty of the approaching enemy, "Fear not," said he, "for before dawn I will cast my net into the river, by which the passage of the Scots shall be altogether prevented." Saying this, he disappeared. When morning came, the river, which is called the Tyne, without any inundation of rain or violent storm, was found to have swollen to such an extent, that, without the help of boats, it could not be crossed. Moreover, on the same night and on the following day, so great a mist suddenly came on, that the greater part of the army of king Malcolm, scattered in the darkness, fell away from each other; so that numbers fled with great haste to the north, many to the east, and some also to the south,—plainly overthrown by divine miracle, through the intercession of the saints of the church of Hexham. But king Malcolm, coming with the small portion of his army which had remained with him, saw that all possibility of passage was denied him. He encamped, therefore, on the bank of the river, intending to wait until the water had subsided so as to enable him to cross. But after waiting three days, and seeing the water increase daily more and more without any supply of rain, startled at so evident a miracle, he retreated with great haste; and thus all who had fled from his cruelty to the aforesaid church of Hexham were delivered by the merits of the saints reposing in it.

But now let us resume the lost thread of our history. In that year[2] in which bishop St. Acca departed to heaven, Arwine the son of Eadulf was slain, on Saturday, the tenth of the kalends of January [23d December]. The history or chronicle of this country records, that in the same year Cuthberht, the eleventh archbishop, received the primacy of the church of Canterbury: but after Aldulf, Dun assumed the bishopric of the church of Rochester.

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[1] As his reign extended from the year 1054 to 1093, the incident mentioned in the text must have occurred between those dates; probably in one of the invasions which are mentioned by the Saxon Chronicle as having occurred in A.D. 1079 or 1091.

[2] These incidents are to be referred to A.D. 741.

A.D. 741. The monastery of the city of York was burnt, on Sunday, the eleventh of the kalends of May [23d April].

A.D. 744. A battle was fought between the Picts and the Britons.

A.D. 745. There appeared in the air flashes of fire, such as mortals of that period had never seen before; and they were seen almost all night, to wit, on the first of January. In the same year, also, as some say, lord Wilfrid, the second of that name, bishop of the city of York, departed to the Lord, on the third of the kalends of May [29th April]. We indeed say, that before Beda had completed his history, that first Wilfrid was removed from this world to the excellency of the eternal vision. In these same days, the bishop of the city of London, Ingwald by name, was translated from the Egypt of this world. At the same period, the bishop of the Wiccians died.[1] In the same year died also abbot Herebald.[2] The holy anchorite, Guthlac, flourished at this time.

A.D. 749. Elfwald, king of the East Angles, died; and Hunbeanna; and Alberht divided the kingdom between them.

A.D. 750. King Eadberht led bishop Kyniwlf[3] captive to the city of Bebba [Bamborough], and made him abide in the church of St. Peter in Lindisfarne. Also Offa, the son of Aldfrid, an innocent man, took refuge by compulsion at the relics of St. Cuthbert the bishop; almost dead with hunger, he was dragged unarmed from the church. In the same year, bishop Alwih[4] was translated to the enjoyment of another life, and Aldulf, his deacon, was ordained bishop. Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, rose against Ethilbald, king of the Mercians.

A.D. 752. There occurred an eclipse of the moon on the day before the kalends of August [31st July]. Since mention has been made of this event, it will be well to state, for the benefit of the uninformed, what an eclipse is; it is a failing or deficiency of the moon. An eclipse of the moon occurs as often as the moon falls under the shadow of the earth; for it is said to have no light of its own, but is supposed to be illuminated by the sun. An eclipse of the moon will not occur except when the moon is full, that is to say, on the fifteenth day. An eclipse of the sun happens only at the commencement of a moon. "It is certain," says Pliny,[5] "that an eclipse of the sun takes place only on the last, that is the thirtieth, or the first day of the moon, which is called their conjunction;" but in every year, eclipses of either luminary take place, under the shadow of the earth, on certain determined days and hours. But yet, when they occur in the heaven, they are not always visible, sometimes on account of clouds, more frequently the circularity of the earth itself interposing. An eclipse of the sun occurs, whenever the moon on the thirtieth day comes on the same line with the sun, and obscures it by interposing its own body: for the sun appears to us eclipsed, when the moon's orb is before it.[1]

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[1] Wilfrid, bishop of Worcester. See Appendix to Florence, p. 379; Godwin, de Præsul. p. 449.

[2] This passage is an interlineation in the MS.

[3] Bishop of Lindisfarne.

[4] Bishop of the Lindisfari. See the Appendix to Florence, p. 382.

[5] See ii. 18.

A.D. 754. Boniface, also called Winfrid, archbishop of the Franks, received the crown of martyrdom, with fifty-three others.

A.D. 755. Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, died; of whose kingdom Sigberht received the sceptre.

A.D. 756. King Eadberht, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and Unust, king of the Picts, led an army to the city Alcwith;[2] and they received the Britons there into alliance on the first day of August. But on the tenth day of the same month, nearly the whole army perished, which he led from Ouoma[3] to Newanbirig; that is, to the New Town. In the same year, Balther the hermit[4] followed the path of the holy fathers in departing to Him who renewed him after the image of his own Son. On the eighth of the kalends of December [24th Novem.], the moon[5] fifteen days old, that is, at the full moon, was suffused with a blood-red colour; and then the darkness gradually diminishing, it returned to its former lustre. For, very remarkably, a bright star following the moon itself, and passing across it, excelled it in brilliancy, as much as it was inferior before the moon's obscuration.

A.D. 757. Ethilbald, king of the Mercians, was treacherously slain by his guardians. In the same year, the Mercians were involved in a civil war. Bearnred being put to flight, king Offa was conqueror.

A.D. 758. Eadberht, king of the Northumbrians,[6] of his own accord, gave up the kingdom bestowed upon him by God, to his son named Osulf; who during one single year held, parted from, and lost, the kingdom: for he was wickedly put to death by his family, on the ninth of the kalends of August [24th July], near Mechil Wongtune.[7]

A.D. 759. Ethelwald, who was also called Moll, began to reign on the nones of August [5th Aug.]. At the commencement of whose third year [A.D. 761], a severe battle was fought on the eighth of the ides of August [6th Aug.], beside Eldunum,[8] near Melrose. In which, after three days, Oswin was slain, on

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[1] In the margin of the MS. here occurs this note: "Eata died in Craic, at York." See under the year 767.

[2] The Alcluit of Beda, Hist. Eccl. § 8; now Dumbarton, on the Clyde.

[3] The printed edition of Hoveden here reads "Deouama;" but the MSS. have (apparently more correctly) "de Quama." The Chronicle of Melrose does not contain the sentence.

[4] Namely, of Tiningham, in Berwickshire.

[5] This eclipse occurred on the ninth of the kalends of December, or 23d November, 755.

[6] This word, added between the lines, does not occur in Hoveden's text, but is to be found in the Chronicle of Melrose, which compare with Simeon.

[7] Read "Methel-wong-tune;" the town on (or near) the Meadow of Conference. Its situation is unknown.

[8] Now Eldon: the words "secus Melros" (near Melrose), occur in the MS. between the lines, and are unknown to Hoveden and the Chronicle of Melrose.

Sunday [9th Aug.]. King Ethelwald, or Moll, obtained the victory in the battle. In this year also, Unust, king of the Picts, died.

A.D. 762. The aforesaid king Ethelwald took Etheldryth as his queen, at Catterick,[1] on the kalends of November [1st Nov.].

A.D. 764. Deep snow hardened into ice, unlike anything that had ever been known to all previous ages, covered the earth from the beginning of winter till nearly the middle of spring; by the severity of which the trees and shrubs for the most part perished, and many marine animals were found dead. Also, in the same year, died Ceolwlf, formerly king,[2] at this time a servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a monk. To this king the truthful historian, Beda, addressed an epistle, beginning thus: "To the most illustrious king Ceolwlf, Beda, the servant of Christ and priest. At your desire, O king, I most willingly send the History of the nation of the Angles which I lately published; as formerly to be read, so now to be copied and perused more fully at your leisure." In the same year many cities, monasteries, and vills, in various parts, and moreover kingdoms, were suddenly laid waste by fire; for example, Stretburg,[3] the city of Winchester, Homwic, the city of London, the city of York, Doncaster; and many other places suffered under that calamity; and the Scripture was fulfilled, "There shall be commotions on the earth." In the same year died Frehelm, priest and abbot; and the bishop of the nation of the Mercians, Totca[4] by name, died; and in his place Eadberht was consecrated bishop. At this time also, Frithwald, bishop of Candida Casa [Whitherne], departed this life, and Phectwine was appointed bishop in his stead.

A.D. 765. Flashes of fire were seen in the air, such as formerly appeared on the night of the first of January,[5] as we mentioned above. In the same year, on the third of the kalends of November [30th Octob.], Ethelwald lost the kingdom of the Northumbrians at Winchan-heale;[6] to whom succeeded in the kingdom Alcrid, a descendant, as some say, of king Ida.[7] In this year died Hemeli, bishop of the Mercians, in whose room Cuthfrid was ordained bishop at Lichfield. At the same time, Bregwine, archbishop of the city of Canterbury, was removed from this life, to whose place of rule Lamberht[8] succeeded. Aldulf also, bishop in Lindsey, in the same year, left this life for another; after whom Ceolwlf was elected and consecrated.

A.D. 766. Ecgberht, archbishop of the city of York, rested in the peace of Christ on the thirteenth of the kalends of December

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[1] The words "in Caterecta" occur in the MS. between the lines; they are found in Hoveden, but not in the Chronicle of Melrose.

[2] Namely, of Northumbria. See A.D. 737.

[3] The situation is unknown. Instead of "Stretburg, Wenta," as in the printed copies of Hoveden, the MS. makes one word, "Stretbugrwenta." The Chronicle of Melrose does not contain the sentence.

[4] Tocta, or Totta. See the Appendix to Florence, p. 381.

[5] See A.D. 745.

[6] Conjectured to be Finchale, near Durham.

[7] Descended from Ida through a concubine. See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 765, and the Epistles of Boniface.

[8] Ianberht; see Appendix to Florence, p. 378.

[19th November], in the thirty-fourth year of his episcopate; and Frithuberht, bishop of the church of Hexham, departed in the same year from this mortal life to an eternity of true light, on the tenth of the kalends of January [23d December], in the thirty-second year of his episcopate.

A.D. 767. Alberht was consecrated bishop of the city of York, and Alchmund of the church of Hexham, on the eighth of the kalends of May[1] [24th April]. At the same time, Aluberht was consecrated bishop for the Eald Saxons,[2] and Ceolwlf was consecrated bishop in Lindissi. Also, in the same year, Etha the hermit died happily in Crie, which is a place ten miles distant from the city of York.

A.D. 768. Eadberht [formerly king, but afterwards cleric],[3] in the tenth year of the loss of his kingdom, in happiness resigned his soul to heaven, in the ministry and service of Almighty God, at York,[4] on the thirteenth of the kalends of September [20th August]. In the same year Pipin, king of the Franks, died; and Hadwine[5] was consecrated bishop at Machni. And king Alcred at the same time took Osgearn[6] as his queen.

A.D. 769. Ceteracte[7] was burnt by the tyrant Earnred; and by the judgment of God, he himself miserably perished by fire in the same year.

A.D. 771. Abbot Sibald died; and Egric and Lector[8] passed from the course of this transitory life to the fellowship of the elect, where he takes up an endless song of triumph. At this time Offa, king of the Mercians, subdued by arms the people of the Hestingi. In the same year also, Karlmon, the most illustrious king of the Franks, died, cut off by sudden illness. Further, his brother Karl, who previously held half his father's dominion, now became possessed of the monarchy of the whole kingdom, and the rule of the Frankish tribes in unconquered strength.

A.D. 772. Duke Pictel, and abbot Swithulf, died in the Lord. Also, Carl, king of the Franks, gathering a powerful army, and assembling the warriors of his empire, made an attack upon the nation of the Saxons, and, having lost many of his princes and nobles, retired to his own territory.

A.D. 773. Hadwin, bishop of the church of Meath,[9] departed, and Leuthfriht was appointed bishop in his stead. In this year also Wlfhaeth, abbot of Beverley, longing to see the day of the Lord, whose follower he was, it was granted him. At the same time Alberht, bishop of the church of York, received the ministry of the pall sent to him by pope Adrian.

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[1] More probably in A.D. 768, in which year this date fell upon Easter Sunday.

[2] ". . . . ad Ealdsexos," MS. Hoveden reads, "ad Eastsexos;" no assistance is obtained from the Chronicle of Melrose. The individual here meant was probably Aluberht, bishop of the South Saxons. See Appendix to Florence, p. 618.

[3] The passage here printed within brackets is introduced between the lines in the MS., and is not recognised by Hoveden. See the Chronicle of Melrose.

[4] The words, "at York" are also between the lines in the MS., and do not occur in Hoveden. Concerning this king, see A.D. 758.

[5] See A.D. 773.

[6] Called Osgeiva in the Chronicle of Melrose.

[7] Catterick, in Yorkshire.

[8] See Chronicle of Melrose; probably an error for "Egric lector."

[9] "Migensis ecclesiæ."

A.D. 774. Duke Eadwlf was withdrawn from the wreck of this life; and, at the same period, king Alcred, by the design and consent of all his connexions, being deprived of the society of the royal family and princes, changed the dignity of empire for exile. He went with a few companions of his flight, first to the city of Bebba [Bamborough], afterwards to the king of the Picts, Cynoht by name. The city of Bebba is exceedingly well fortified, but by no means large, containing about the space of two or three fields, having one hollowed entrance ascending in a wonderful manner by steps. It has, on the summit of the hill, a church of very beautiful architecture, in which is a fair and costly shrine. In this, wrapped in a pall, lies the uncorrupted right hand of St. Oswald, king, as Beda[1] the historian of this nation relates. There is on the west and highest point of this citadel, a well, excavated with extraordinary labour, sweet to drink, and very pure to the sight. Moreover, Ethelred, the son of Ethelwald, in the place of this person, received the kingdom; who, crowned with so great honour, held it scarcely five years, as the subsequent narrative of the writer tells. At the same time Karl, the most warlike king of the Franks, after a long siege, took Ticina [Pavia], the chief city of the Lombards; and with it captured the king himself, Desiderius, and the empire of the whole of Italy.

A.D. 775. Cynoth, king of the Picts, was taken from the whirl of this polluted life; and duke Eadwlf, taken by cunning treachery, was in a short space of time killed, buried, and forgotten. Also, abbot Ebbi paid the debt of nature, going at his departure to Him who died to give eternal life. Lastly, Karl, as we before said, the most warlike king of the Franks, supported and adorned with the whole courage, power, and array of his army, being surrounded with the legions which he had levied, attacked the nation of the Saxons, whose territory he laid waste in most severe battles, great and indescribable, raging with fire and sword like one distracted in mind. He finally added to his own great empire the two cities Sigeburht and Aresburht, and the province of Bohweri, formerly subdued by the Franks.

A.D. 777. Pichtwine,[2] bishop of Candida Casa, departed from this life on the thirteenth of the kalends of October [19th Sept.], to the enjoyment of everlasting salvation, having presided over that church fourteen years. Ethelbyrht succeeded him.

In the fourth year of king Ethelred, that is, the year 778, three dukes, namely, Aldwlf, Cynwlf, and Ecga, at the command of the same king, were treacherously put to death by the princes Ethelbald and Heardberht, on the third of the kalends of October [29th Sept.]. What happened in the year 779 the following narrative will declare.

A.D. 779. Ethelred, expelled from his royal throne, and driven into exile, was forced to undergo sad changes, and experience much wretchedness. Elfwald, the son of Oswlf, on the expulsion of Ethelred, obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and held it ten years. He indeed was a pious and upright king, as will appear in the sequel.

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[1] See Hist. Eccl. § 166.

[2] The Chronicle of Melrose, here differing from Hoveden and Simeon, ascribes this to the year 776.

A.D. 780. Dukes Osbald and Athelheard, having gathered an army, burnt Bearn, a nobleman of king Elfwald, in Seletune,[1] on the ninth of the kalends of January[2] [24th Dec.]. In the same year, archbishop Alberht[3] departed from the light of this world to the light of eternity, Eanbald having been ordained to the same see while he was yet living. In the same year also, bishop Cynewlf,[4] relinquishing secular cares, upon the choice of the whole community, committed the government of the church to Higbald. In the same year also, bishop Eanbald received the pall sent to him from the apostolic see; and, having obtained it, he was solemnly confirmed in his episcopate.

A.D. 781. Hibald was consecrated bishop.[5] Alchmund, bishop of the church of Hexham, a man of exemplary piety and great virtues, after having nobly ruled the aforesaid church thirteen years, in the third year of the reign of Elfwald, the very glorious king of the Northumbrians, ended this life on the seventh of the ides of September [7th Sept.], and was, for the reward of his good deeds, made partaker of eternal life. He was buried near his predecessor of revered memory, the bishop St. Acca. From which spot he was translated, more than two hundred and fifty years after, by divine revelation in this manner:—

There was at that time in the territory of the church of Hexham a certain Dregmo,[6] one who greatly feared God, and diligently devoted himself, as far as his means allowed, to the exercise of works of charity, leading a life differing in all respects from the manners of his countrymen. For he was a man of remarkable simplicity and innocence, and of profound devotion and reverence towards the saints of God; on which account all his neighbours held him in great honour, and called him a true worshipper of God. As he was reposing one night in his bed, there appeared to him a man adorned with a pontifical mitre, and holding in his hand a pastoral staff. Striking him with it, he said to him, "Arise, go and tell Elfred, the son of Westneor, priest of the church of Durham, that, assembling the population of the territory of Hexham, he must translate my body from the place where I am interred, and deposit it in a more honourable position within the church; for it is right that they should receive veneration from all on earth, whom the King of kings deigns to clothe with the robe of glory and immortality in heaven." When he inquired, "Lord, who art thou?" he replied, "I am Alchmund, bishop of the church of Hexham, who, by the grace of God, presided over that see the fourth in succession after the blessed Wilfrid. My body was placed near my predecessor of revered memory, the sainted bishop Acca. At its translation do you also assist with the priest." Thus speaking, he disappeared. When morning came, the man hastened to the priest before named, and recited to him in order what he had seen; and repeated the mandate which he was ordered to convey to him. The priest greatly rejoicing, called together a very large multitude of people, made the matter known to them, and fixed a time for the translation of the venerable relics. On the appointed day, therefore, the aforesaid priest, going to the tomb, commanded it to be cleared from the earth. Which being done, (the man to whom the revelation had been made also assisting,) crowds of people standing on every side, he collected the sacred bones from the mound, and placed them, wrapped in linen and enclosed in a shrine, upon a bier; and since, in consequence of the great solemnity of the day, the hour of offering the holy sacrifice to the Lord was gone by, they placed it that night in the aisle of St. Peter, at the east side of the church of Hexham; intending on the following day to remove it into the church with psalms and hymns, and the celebration of masses. But on that night, while the priest before mentioned kept watch with his clerks around the sacred relics, the others having fallen into a deep sleep, he went and opened the shrine, and taking by stealth one of the small bones, (to wit, a part of one of the fingers,) he laid it by him, desiring to bestow it on the church of St. Cuthbert at Durham, to the honour of God and St. Alchmund.

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[1] Possibly Silton, in Yorkshire.

[2] In the Saxon Chronicle this outrage is said to have occurred on 25th Dec.

[3] Namely, of York.

[4] Bishop of Lindisfarne.

[5] The entry respecting Hibald (Higbald, bishop of Lindisfarne, see Flor. Wig. A.D. 779) occurs in the margin of the MS., and is not found in Hoveden, or the Chronicle of Melrose.

[6] Probably not a proper name, but a Scandinavian designation of a class of tenants; thus, Ralph, bishop of Durham, addresses a writ to his "thanes and drenges" of Islandshire and Norhamshire. See Hickes, Thesaur. i. 149, 150, and Ettmüller, Lexicon Anglo-Saxon. p. 572.

At the return of day, a very great multitude of people assembled to witness the removal of the holy corpse. When it drew near the third hour, at the command of the priest, taking hold of the bier, they endeavoured to lift it; but were unable to remove it in the least degree. Those who first made the attempt being dismissed, as considered unworthy to raise on their shoulders the relics of so great a father, others made the trial, who, like the former, spent their labour in vain. After this others, and others again, applying themselves, no force was of the least avail to move it. All who were present were troubled in mind, and stood gazing on each other in wonder and amazement at this prodigy. Then the priest who had committed the act, not suspecting that he himself was the cause, exhorted all to beseech God that He would deign to reveal to them for what fault this had been brought upon them. And so it came to pass, while those who passed the night in the church were praying to God on this account, Saint Alchmund again appeared to the same man as before, who chanced then to be within the church, overpowered by slumber, which had suddenly overtaken him, and, with a somewhat severe countenance, addressed him thus: "What is this that you have endeavoured to do? Do you suppose that you can carry me, mutilated in my members, into the church in which I served God and his apostle Saint Andrew, with my whole body and spirit? Arise, therefore, and proclaim before all the people that the portion which has been rashly abstracted from my body must speedily be restored; otherwise you will be utterly unable to remove me from my present position." Having said this, he showed him his hand, wanting the middle joint of one finger. When the day broke, this man, standing in the midst of the people, announced to all what had been revealed to him that night, declaring in vehement language, that whosoever had done this deserved punishment. Then the priest, perceiving that he was discovered, started up in the midst, and made known to all for what cause, and with what intention, he had committed this act; and, restoring to St. Alchmund what he had taken from him with a pious and devotional purpose, he, by fit reparation, there obtained pardon; and the clerics who were present, going up, raised the body without any difficulty, and transferred it to the church, on the fourth of the nones of August [2d Aug.]; where to this day it is reverenced by the faithful with becoming honour, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. The holy Tilberht was called in his place to the episcopate,[1] and was consecrated and raised to the throne of the episcopal see, in the place which is called Uulfeswelle, that is, the Wolf's Well. This took place on the sixth of the nones of October [2d Oct.].[2]

A.D. 783, (which is the fifth year of king Elfwald,)[3] died Werburhg, formerly queen of the Mercians, then abbess, always, as it is meet to believe, to live with Christ. At this time, also, bishop Kimuulf, of whom we have before spoken,[4] left earthly affairs to pass blissfully to the heavenly country, in the fortieth year of his pontificate.

A.D. 786, (which is the eighth year of king Elfwald,) Botuune,[5] the venerable abbot of Ripon, in the sight of his brethren standing by, left the prison-house of this laborious life, to receive the reward of the year of jubilee. At his decease, Alberht was elected, and consecrated abbot in his stead. In the same year, Aldulf was consecrated bishop, by archbishop Eanbald and bishops Tilberht and Hygbald,[6] in the monastery which is called Et Corabrige,[7] and, enriched with many gifts and donations, was honourably sent back to his own church. In these days, Ricthryth, formerly queen, then abbess, obtained the desired rewards of another life, carrying oil in her lamp,[8] in the holy sight of the Lord.

At that time[9] Kinnulf, king of the West Saxons, was barbarously put to death by the perfidious tyrant Kynheard; and that cruel murderer was slain without remorse by duke Osred,[10] in revenge of his lord: and Brihtric took the kingdom of the West Saxons.

At this period[11] legates from the apostolic see were sent to

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[1] That is, he succeeded Alchmund in the see of Hexham.

[2] This date is apparently inaccurate.

[3] Hoveden here styles him "the just king."

[4] See A.D. 740 and 780.

[5] Read, with Hoveden and Chronicle of Melrose, Bothwine or Botuine.

[6] Namely, Aldulf of Lichfield, Eaubald of York, Tilbert of Lindisfarne, and Hygbald of Hexham. [7] Corbridge, near Hexham. [8] See St. Matt. xxv. 4.

[9] The Saxon Chronicle and Florence ascribe this occurrence to the year 784.

[10] Read "Osric." See Ethelward, ii. 18; Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 775; Florence, 784.

[11] In A.D. 785. See Saxon Chronicle. Hoveden follows Simeon in the errors here noted.

Britain by the lord pope Adrian, among whom the venerable bishop Georgius[1] held the primacy; who renewing amongst us the ancient friendship, and the catholic faith which St. Gregory taught by blessed Augustine, were honourably received by the kings and bishops, princes and primates of this country, and returned home in peace, with great gifts, as was proper.

A.D. 787. A synod met at Pincahala,[2] on the fourth of the nones of September [2 Sept.]. At which time Alberht, abbot of Ripon, breathed out his spirit from among the stormy blasts of this life to the best joys of eternal felicity. Soon after his death, Sigred was ordained in his stead.

A.D. 788. King Elfwald, a conspiracy being formed by his patrician, Sicga by name, was miserably slain on the ninth of the kalends of October [23d Sept.], at a place called Scythlescester, near the Wall. The body of this excellent king was brought to Hehstealdesige [Hexham] with a great company of monks, and with the chanting of clergy, and was honourably buried in the church of St. Andrew the apostle, which the most worthy father, archbishop Wilfred, had built to the praise and honour of the aforesaid apostle.[3] The work of that monastery is superior to the other edifices in the nation of the Angles, although they are numerous, and in most places indescribable; but this place excels them all in its length and breadth and beauty. In this monastery the walls are decorated with various colours, and historical events are depicted, according to the directions of the said bishop Wilfred. Moreover, lord Acca, who governed that place after him, adorned it with splendid ornaments. The king being buried, as we said before, his nephew, Osred, the son of Alcred, reigned in his place one year. On the spot where the just king Elfwald was slain, light sent down from heaven is said to have been seen by many. There a church was built by the faithful of that locality, and consecrated to the honour of God, and of saints Cuthbert the bishop, and Oswald the king and martyr.

A.D. 790. Ethelred was freed from banishment,[4] and again, by Christ's favour, seated on the throne of the kingdom. But king Osred, overreached by the treachery of his princes, having been taken prisoner and deprived of his kingdom, assumed the tonsure in the city of York, and afterwards, driven by necessity, went into exile. In his second year (A.D. 791), duke Eardulf was taken prisoner, and conveyed to Ripon, and there ordered by the aforesaid king to be put to death without the gate of the monastery. The brethren carried his body to the church with Gregorian chanting, and placed it out of doors in a tent; after midnignt he was found alive in the church. In the same year, Baduulf was consecrated bishop at Candida Casa [Whitherne] in the place called Hearrahaleh,[5] which may be interpreted, "the place of lords."

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[1] See Pagi, A.D. 787, § 18.

[2] Supposed to be Finchale, near Durham.

[3] See the description by Heddius in his Life of Wilfrid; this passage does not occur in Hoveden.

[4] See A.D. 779.

[5] "Hearrahalh," Hoved. MS.; the printed copy reads "Hearrahaldh." The Chronicle of Melrose does not contain this clause.

Bishop Ethelberht in the previous year (A.D. 789) relinquishing his own see on the death of the holy bishop Tilberht, he, the first-mentioned bishop, took the episcopate of the church of Hexham under his own rule.

A.D. 791. The sons of king Elfwald, having been carried from the city of York by force, and drawn from the principal church by deceitful promises, were miserably slain by king Ethelred in Wonwaldremere; their names were Oelf and Oelfwine.[1] Also, in that year, Lamberht,[2] archbishop of the church of Canterbury, passed from the darkness of this light to the bliss of the true light. Ethelherd, abbot "Hludensis monasterii,"[3] was chosen and consecrated bishop of the same see.

A.D. 792. Charles, king of the Franks, sent to Britain a synodal book[4] forwarded to him from Constantinople; in which book, it is deeply to be lamented, were found many things improper and contrary to the true faith; chiefly, that it was agreed by the unanimous assertion of almost all the oriental doctors, not fewer, or rather more, than three hundred bishops, and by them confirmed, that men should adore images; a thing altogether abhorred by the Church of God. Against which Albinus wrote an epistle, strongly supported by the authority of holy Scripture, and took it, with the same book, to the king of the Franks, with the countenance of our bishops and princes. Lastly, in this year, Osred, induced by the oaths and pledge of certain nobles, came secretly from his exile in Eufania [Man], and there his soldiers deserting him, he was captured by the aforesaid king Ethelred, and put to death by his order, at the place called Aynburg,[5] on the eighteenth of the kalends of October [14th Sept.]. His body was brought to the mouth of the river Tyne, and buried in the church of the noble monastery there. In the same year, king Ethelred took as his queen Elfled, daughter of Offa, king of the Mercians, at Catterick, on the third of the kalends of October [29th Sept.].

A.D. 793, (which is the fourth year of king Ethelred,) fearful prodigies terrified the wretched nation of the Angles; inasmuch as horrible lightnings, and dragons in the air, and flashes of fire, were often seen glancing and flying to and fro; which signs indicated the great famine, and the terrible and unutterable slaughter of multitudes which ensued. In this year also, duke Sicga, who murdered king Elfwald,[6] died by his own hand; his body was carried to the isle of Lindisfarne, on the ninth of the kalends of May [23d April].[1] Lindisfarne is a large island in circumference, that is to say, extending eight miles or more. On it is a noble monastery, in which was laid the illustrious prelate Cuthbert, with other bishops, his most worthy successors; to whom may fitly be applied the verse, "The bodies of the saints are buried in peace."[2] The river which runs into the sea is called the Lindis, and is two feet broad when it is "Ledon," that is, at low tide, and when it can be seen; but when it is "Malina," that is, high tide, then the Lindis cannot be perceived. The tide of the ocean follows the moon, as if, by its attraction, it were drawn up at the flow, and ebbed when its force was withdrawn.[3] * * *

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[1] Aelf and Aelfwine, MS. Hoved.

[2] See A.D. 765.

[3] Where this monastery was situated is uncertain; William of Malmesbury tells us, that he was first abbot of the monastery of Malmesbury, then bishop of Winchester, and lastly, archbishop of Canterbury. See Godwin, de Præsul, p. 46.

[4] It is not intended here, to enter upon an inquiry into the authenticity or history of the Caroline books; a question which has been discussed with much warmth. It is enough to direct the reader, who may seek for further information upon this head, and on image worship generally, to the following works: "Augusta Concilii Nicæni II. Censura, hoc est, Caroli Magni de Impio Imaginum Cultu, libri quatuor; edidit cum præfatione et dissertatione critica C. A. Henmannus," 8vo. Hanov. 1781. Dorschens (J. G.) "Collatio ad Concilium Francofurdiense, sub Carolo Magno Imperatore Habitum," 4to. Argent. 1649. Mabillon, Acta SS. Bened. sec. iv. pars i. præf. § 13. Forbes, Instr. Hist. Theology, vii. 11. Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, p. 556, seq.

[5] The situation is unknown. The printed copy of Hoveden reads "Dingburch;" the MSS. have "Dynburg," or "Chynburg."

[6] See A.D. 788.

For as the moon every day rises and sets four points later than it did the day before, so each tide of the sea, be it day or night, morning or evening, flows and retires later by the same space of time. A point is the fifth part of an hour, for five points make an hour. Of this argument of the sea and moon a certain poet, Bishop Aldhelm, says:

"The laws which regulate the sea
I too my guides have found,
Revolving with the answering skies
The monthly seasons round;

As from my light-diffusing form
The glory doth decay,
So from its full and swelling tide
The waters fall away."

But the island of Farne, in which the most blessed Cuthbert led his solitary life, is not so large as Lindisfarne, but is so situated in the sea that it is exposed by day and night to great violence of the waves. Having passingly stated these things, let us return to the order of our narrative.

In the same year, of a truth, the pagans from the Northern region came with a naval armament to Britain, like stinging hornets, and overran the country in all directions, like fierce wolves, plundering, tearing, and killing not only sheep and oxen, but priests and Levites, and choirs of monks and nuns. They came, as we before said, to the church of Lindisfarne, and laid all waste with dreadful havoc, trod with unhallowed feet the holy places, dug up the altars, and carried off all the treasures of the holy church. Some of the brethren they killed; some they carried off in chains; many they cast out, naked and loaded with insults; some they drowned in the sea. It was well said of them as follows:

"With deadly ills, the penalty of guilt,
Blind fortune oft the innocent afflicts:
While with a haughty mien perverse men sit
Enthroned in power, and tread with impious foot,
By an unrighteous chance, on hallow'd necks;
Bright virtue in thick darkness lies conceal'd,
And on the just is laid the charge of sin."

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[1] A marginal note in the MS. copy of Hoveden here states, upon the authority of Gildas, that Lindisfarne was called Medcant by the Britons.

[2] Ecclus. xliv. 14.

[3] A passage from Beda, De Natura Rerum, cap. xxxix. (Opp. ii. 39, ed. fol. Basil, 1563), is here quoted, but a reference is sufficient.

I shall truly relate what befel them in the following year, after they departed, rejoicing both in their plunder and their evil deeds.

A.D. 794. The aforesaid pagans, ravaging the harbour of king Ecgfrid, plundered the monastery at the mouth of the river Don.[1] But St. Cuthbert did not allow them to depart unpunished; for their chief was there put to a cruel death by the Angles, and a short time afterwards a violent storm shattered, destroyed, and broke up their vessels, and the sea swallowed up very many of them; some, however, were cast ashore, and speedily slain without mercy: and these things befel them justly, since they heavily injured those who had not injured them. At that time Colcu,[2] priest and lector, departed from this life to the Lord, where he received for his earthly labours glory and happiness. At this period Ethelheard, formerly duke, but then cleric, died on the kalends of August [1st Aug.], in the city of York. The venerable pope Adrian was, in the same year, exalted to see God, on the seventh of the kalends of January [26th Dec.], having occupied the see twenty-six years, ten months, and twelve days. He was buried in the church of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles; and over his tomb a marble slab, fixed to the wall, records his good deeds in golden letters, and written in verse. This marble, king Charles, when he was invested with the royal diadem, caused to be placed there, on account of his love, and as a remembrance of the aforesaid father.

A.D. 795. The same mighty king, Charles, reduced with a strong hand the nation of the Huns, despoiling them by arms; put their chief to flight, and overcame or destroyed his army, carrying off from thence fifteen wagons full of gold and silver and rich silk vestments; each wagon being drawn by four oxen. All which things the same king ordered to be divided among Christ's churches and poor, on account of the victory granted him by the Lord; he, together with all his warriors, giving God thanks.

A.D. 796, (which is the seventh year of king Ethelred,) Alric, formerly duke, then cleric, died in the city of York. And a little after, that is, on the fifth of the kalends of April [28th March], an eclipse of the moon took place between cockcrow and dawn. In the same year, king Ethelred was slain at Cobre, on the fourteenth of the kalends of May [18th April], in the seventh year of his reign; Osbald the patrician was appointed to the kingdom by some chiefs of that nation, and twenty-seven days after, forsaken by the whole company of the royal family and princes, having been put to flight and expelled from the kingdom, he, with a few followers, retired to the island of Lindisfarne, and thence went by ship, with some of his brethren, to the king of the Picts. Eardulf, of whom we have before spoken,[3] the son of Eardulf,[4] recalled from exile, was raised to the crown, and was consecrated on the seventh of the kalends of June [26th May], in York, in the church of St. Peter, at the altar of the blessed apostle Paul, where that nation first received the grace of baptism. Not long after, that is, on the seventh of the kalends of August [26th July], Offa, the most potent king of the Mercians, died, after a reign of thirty-nine years; to him succeeded in the kingdom his son Ecgferth, who, in the same year, was cut off by an untimely death. Moreover, Coenuulf, the father of St. Kenelm, martyr, then with great honour received the crown of the kingdom of the Mercians, and held it, with surpassing ability, by the vigorous energy of his government. Also in this year, Ceoluulf [bishop] of Lindisse, laid down this temporal life, looking for the consolation of a future world. And a little after, that is, on the fourth of the ides of August [10th August], archbishop Eanbald died in the monastery called Etlete,[1] and his body, accompanied by a great multitude, being conveyed to the city of York, was honourably interred in the church of the blessed apostle Peter; and another Eanbald, a priest of the same church, was at once elected to the episcopate; bishops Ethelbert, Hygbald, and Badwlf meeting at his consecration, at a monastery called Sochasburg, on Sunday the eighteenth of the kalends of September.[2]

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[1] We should here read, "at the mouth of the river Wear." This error, which occurs also in Hoveden and the Chronicle of Melrose, has originated in a misapprehension of one of the texts of the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 794.

[2] See the Correspondence of Alcuin, Ep. iii., Opp. i. 6, ed. Froben.; Mabill. Annal. Ord. S. Bened. xxvi. § 10.

[3] See A.D. 790.

[4] In Hoveden and the Chronicle of Melrose he is called Earnulf.

A.D. 797. This latter Eanbald, having received the pall from the apostolic see, was solemnly confirmed in the episcopate of the nation of the Northumbrians, on the fourth of the ides of September [8th Sept.], on which day is celebrated the Feast of the Nativity of St. Mary, of whom the poet says,

> "Graced with unclouded glory bright, the day shall ever shine,
> When Mary, virgin, saw the light, blest child of David's line."

In the same year died Ethelbert, bishop of Hexham, on the seventeenth of the kalends of November [16th Oct.], at the place called Barton; his body was brought to Hestaldesige [Hexham], and reverently buried by the brethren of that monastery. In his place Headred was elected to the episcopate, and, in the course of a few days, that is, on the third of the kalends of November[3] [30th Oct.], was ordained in the spiritual dignity by archbishop Eanbald and bishop Hygbald,[4] at the place called Wduforda.

A.D. 798. Duke Wada, entering into a conspiracy formed by the murderers of king Etheldred,[5] fought a battle against king Eardwlf, in a place called by the Angles Billingahoth,[6] near Walalege; and many on both sides being slain, duke Wada, with his men, was put to flight, and king Eardwlf royally gained the victory over his enemies. In the same year, London was destroyed by an accidental fire, with a great multitude of people. At this time, Kenwlf,[7] king of the Mercians, entering the province of the

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[1] Where situated is unknown; "Aet Læte," MS. Hoved. "Edete," ed.

[2] We should read, nineteenth kalends of September [14th Aug.], which fell upon a Sunday in this year.

[3] This date is suspicious.

[4] Hygbald was bishop of Lindisfarne.

[5] Read "Ethelred." See A.D. 796.

[6] Billingahou, Hoved. edit.; Billingahoh, Hoved. MS.: probably Billingham, co. Durham.

[7] Compare the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 796.

Kentish men with the whole force of his army, mightily devastated it in a lamentable pillage, almost to its utter destruction. Eadbert, king of the men of Kent, was at the same time taken prisoner, whose eyes the king of the Mercians ordered to be put out, and his hands to be cut off without pity, on account of the arrogance and deceit of his people. Then, having obtained the help of the Lord, he added the government of that kingdom to his own kingdom, taking the crown on his head and sceptre in his hand. In the same year also (which is the third of the aforesaid king Cenwlf), at a synod assembled at the place called Pincanhalth [Finchale?] under the presidency of archbishop Eanbald, with very many other princes and ecclesiastics, they consulted on many things affecting the interest of God's holy church, and of the nation of Northumbrians, and of all the provinces, and concerning the observance of the paschal feast, and of decisions, divine and secular, which were made in the days of righteous kings, and good dukes, and holy bishops, and other wise men, monks and clerics, of whose wisdom, and justice, and divine virtues, the state of the kingdom of the Northumbrians was at that time sweetly and unspeakably redolent. They took care, by wise counsel, to make arrangements for the honour of God and the necessities of his servants, and to augment the service of God, that for these things they might receive the good recompense of eternal reward. The lord bishop Eanbald commanded the faith of the five councils to be recited, of which it is thus said in the History of the Angles:[1]

"We receive the five holy and universal councils of the saints and fathers beloved of God, as the text of the present book contains. We truly glorify, and adore, and worship, our Lord Jesus Christ, as they glorified Him, adding or taking away nothing; and with heart and mouth we anathematize them whom the aforesaid fathers anathematized; glorifying God the Father Almighty, without beginning, and his only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before the worlds, and the Holy Spirit, proceeding in an unspeakable manner from the Father and the Son, as those whom we named before, the holy apostles and prophets, preached, and we believe, and therefore have we spoken. We declare that we constantly believe these aforesaid fathers, piously and orthodoxly, according to their divinely inspired doctrine; and we confess, according to the holy fathers, properly and truly, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the Trinity consubstantial in Unity, and the Unity in Trinity; that is, one God in three real Persons, consubstantial, of equal glory and honour." Having asserted and confirmed these things, they returned home, praising God for all his benefits.

We read elsewhere this account of the unity of that faith by which, as other righteous men trusted, we hope to be saved:

"Since in the Father the Word is, the Father in the Word,
From Father and from Word proceeds One Spirit, God and Lord·
So without doubt one only God, in blessed Persons Three.
Must, with unhesitating faith, ever confessed be."

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[1] Beda, Eccl. Hist. § 303.

And further:

"The Word, the Father's only Son, all things creates, and still
Rules all things, yet in nothing acts without the Father's will;
One will, one motive, and one mind, in Persons both are found,
Of equal goodness, in one love by the same Spirit bound."

And after this:

"God's power is of and in Himself; His property is this,
To be to endless ages still unchanged what now He is.
True light from true light shines; and who acknowledges the Son
Begotten of the Father, knows the unbegotten One."

"The Godhead of the Three in One; their very Being One;
The Spirit from the Father flows the same as from the Son;
No work of theirs can be disjoin'd; their power must equal be,
Since but one principle pervades the blessed One in Three."

Having detailed so much concerning the orthodox faith, let us return to the narrative of our history.

A.D. 799. Very many ships were wrecked by a violent storm in the British sea, and shattered or dashed to pieces and sunk, with a great number of men. In the same year died Brorda, prince of the Mercians, also called Hildegils. The abbot called More Atilthegno,[1] was put to a grievous death by his steward. Duke Moll, also, was soon afterwards slain by the urgent command of king Eardwlf. Also, at the same time, Osbald, once duke and patrician, and for a time king, after that abbot, breathed his last; his body was buried in the church of the city of York. Duke Aldred, the murderer of king Etheldred,[2] was slain by duke Thortmund, in revenge of his lord, the same king. Some other events in the same year must be recorded. The Romans also were divided amongst themselves, and had great dissensions, in which they seized and bound the most holy pope Leo,[3] whose tongue, forcibly drawn between his jaws, and cruelly stretched in his throat, was by them cut off. The eyes of the said pope, also, they utterly put out, which deed was made a cruel spectacle to all beholders. Then, leaving him, without any humanity, half dead, they hastily returned home. But the great Creator of the world, from above beholding all things, and whom only, because He beholds all things, we can call the true Sun, did not so disregard his faithful servant. The Almighty Lord, therefore, after a short space of time, so healed him by his saving remedy, that within a while he could see clearly, and speak; altogether removing the blindness from his eyes, and granting him a tongue, whole as before; so that he was perfectly able to preach, and creditably fulfil all his duties.

"While yet dark clouds of ignorance remain,
The wondrous works of God shall never cease."

This miracle was quickly spread through the four quarters of the world, that, to the glory and honour of Christ's name, it should by all be everywhere proclaimed and glorified that God is wonderful in his saints.[1]

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[1] The authorities differ respecting the name of this individual; "More Altilthegno," Hoved. ed.; "More a Thiltegno," "More Athiltegno," Hoved. MS.; "Mora a Tilthegno," Chron. Mailr. We should probably read, "The abbot called More was put to a grievous death by his steward, Tilthegn."

[2] Read "Ethelred." See A.D. 798.

[3] Namely pope Leo III.

A.D. 800. Headred, bishop of the church of Hexham, came to his last end in the third year of his episcopal government, in whose room Eanbryth was elected and consecrated bishop, in the place called Cettingaham. In the same year, Alchmund, son of king Alcred, as some say, was seized by the guardians of king Eardwlf, and by his order put to death with the companions of his flight. Also, in this year, on the day before the Nativity of our Lord, the ninth of the kalends of January [24th Dec.], a great wind arising from the south-west or west, by its indescribable violence destroyed and threw to the ground cities, many houses, and numerous vills, in divers places; innumerable trees, also, were torn up by the roots and thrown to the earth. In this year an inundation of the sea burst beyond its bounds, not fulfilling what the psalm[2] says, "Thou hast set them their bounds which they shall not pass." A great destruction of cattle occurred in divers places. Also, a little before, in this year, Charles,[3] king of the Franks, of renowned valour, entered the walls of the city of Rome with a great multitude of his army, and remained there for some months; and having worshipped in frequent visits at the holy places, he enriched and adorned them with royal munificence. Especially the church of the blessed apostle Peter, and also of St. Paul, he adorned with royal gifts, gold and silver and precious stones. He also gave magnificent presents to the venerable pope Leo, and dispersed his adversaries; some he destroyed or condemned to banishment, some he killed, who wickedly raised a conspiracy against him. These, and many other things which pertained to the honour and correction of the churches of Christ and of Christian people, being settled, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ [25th Dec.], this mighty emperor, with dukes and magistrates and soldiers, went to the church of the most holy prince of the apostles, where he was robed with the royal purple by the lord pope Leo, a crown of gold was placed on his head, and a sceptre in his hand. This dignity he deserved on that day to receive from every people, that he should be called, as he was, emperor of the whole world. At that time, also, came ambassadors from the Greeks, sent to him with large gifts from Constantinople, begging him to accept their kingdom and empire. In like manner, ambassadors were sent from Jerusalem by the Christian people dwelling there; who, coming to Rome, brought to the king, among other gifts, a silver standard, and offered to him the keys of the holy places of our Lord's resurrection, and of others, earnestly beseeching him to be their helper and defender. They desired that he would preserve, rule, and defend the holy monasteries devoted to the Christian religion, and would rise in warlike valour and royal majesty against the insurgent nations. The most gracious monarch assented to the blessed entreaties of those who flocked to him, and said that he was ready to overcome their enemies, not only by land, but also by sea, if necessity so required. He understood that states would be happy if either persons desirous of wisdom were in power, or if it came to pass that their rulers applied their minds to wisdom. Coming[1] to the city of Ravenna, he went thence to Aix-la-Chapelle, to treat with his nobles about all these matters.

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[1] This passage about Leo does not occur either in Hoveden or the Chronicle of Melrose.

[2] Ps. civ. 9.

[3] See Pagi ad an. 800, §§ 8, 9.

A.D. 801. Edwine, also called Eda, formerly a duke of the Northumbrians, then, by the grace of the Saviour of the world, an abbot strong in the service of God, like a worn-out soldier, came to the end of his life, in the sight of the brethren, on the eighteenth of the kalends of February [15th Jan.]. He was honourably interred in the church, in his monastery called Et Gegenforda.[2] At this time, Eardulf, king of the Northumbrians, led an army against Kenwlf, king of the Mercians, because he had given an asylum to his enemies. He also, collecting an army, obtained very many auxiliaries from other provinces, having made a long expedition among them. At length, with the advice of the bishops and chiefs of the Angles on either side, they made peace, through the kindness of the king of the Angles.[3] An agreement of sure peace was made between them, which both kings confirmed by an oath on the gospel of Christ, calling God as a witness and surety, that as long as they retained this life, and bore the crown of government, a firm peace and true friendship should exist between them, unshaken and inviolate. It thus came to be fulfilled in them, as it is said,—

> "When ceaseth the south wind of showers to give warning,
> More kindly the bright stars their lustre display;
> When darkness hath fled from the face of the morning,
> Her rose-colour'd coursers drive onward fair day."

"The bright stars their lustre display;" that is, the chiefs were enlivened with joy when the kings so kindly made peace between themselves. "The south wind" is a warm wind which usually portends showers. "The rose-coloured coursers," that is, the whole kingdom was filled with exultation when times of serenity returned to the men of that age, through the bounteous favour of the Lord, who calms the stormy tempests, and who

> "In equal measure weighs the elements;
> Tempers the heat with cold; the solid earth
> In balance with the waters holds; for else
> Would fire unmingled rage, or o'er the earth,
> Sunk by its ponderous weight, the waters roll."

In the same year, Hathuberht, bishop of the city of London, took his departure from this temporal life. And, soon after, a great part of that city was destroyed by accidental fire.

In the year eight hundred and two from our Lord's incarnation, died Brichtric, king of the West Saxons,[4] who, for seventeen years, had gloriously reigned over that nation; after whom, Ecgberht, of the royal family of that nation, took and held the government and kingdom. Brichtric, king of the West Saxons, had taken in marriage Eadburga, daughter of Offa, king of the Mercians, who ordered the great wall to be built between Britain and Mercia, that is, from sea to sea. And when the daughter of the king was raised to so many honours, she became inflated with marvellous pride, and began to live in her father's tyrannical manner, and to ban all men; so that she was utterly detested by all, not only dukes and magistrates, but also by the whole populace. She never ceased to bring accusations to the king against all ecclesiastics; and this cursed woman gained such power over her husband by her wiles, that those whom she accused he was ready to condemn to death or banishment; and if she could not obtain her wish from the king, she did not hesitate to destroy them secretly by poison. There was at that time a certain wealthy young man, much esteemed and beloved by the king before named, whom, after having attempted, but without success, to bring him under the king's displeasure, this wicked woman put to death by poison; of which poison the king, having unwittingly partaken, died. She, nevertheless, had not intended to administer the poison to the king, but to the youth; whom the chief anticipating, both these persons drank of the cup of death, and perished by the fatal draught. At the death of the king, the infamous poisoner, struck with terror, took flight beyond sea, with countless treasures, going to Charles, the most illustrious king of the Franks. When she presented herself before his throne, and laid before the king costly gifts, he thus addressed her: "Choose, Eadburg, whom you will have, me, or my son, who is with me on the throne." She, without any consideration, foolishly answered, "If the choice is given me, I would rather take your son than you, because he looks younger." To which king Charles is said to have thus replied: "If you had chosen me you might have had my son; but since you have chosen him, you shall have neither the one nor the other." He was so regardless of what was right, that he bestowed on her an excellent monastery; in which, having laid aside the secular habit, and with most hypocritical pretence assumed the nun's attire, she passed a very few years; for, as this detestable and lamentable woman had lived wickedly and foolishly in her own land, so it was discovered that she was living in a foreign land in a much more wicked, miserable, and senseless way.

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[1] See Annal. Lauresp. 801, ap. Pertz. Monum. Germ. i. 38, Einhardi Annal. 801, p. 189.

[2] At Gainford, in Yorkshire. See Camd. Brit. col. 940.

[3] The MS. of Hoveden here reads, "the king of the Angels."

[4] The word "Saxons," here omitted in the MS. of Simeon, and the Chronicle of Melrose, is supplied from Hoveden. According to the Saxon Chronicle, he died A. D. 800.

"The summer's heat, as one hath sung,
Bedecks with golden corn the fields;
Autumn with fruit her boughs hath hung;
And falling showers the winter yields."

But neither the beauty of summer, nor the cold of winter, availed to restrain the mind of this worst of queens from lust; for after a short period, while she was occupied as some thought in holy things, she was debauched by a certain man of low birth of her own nation.

"While yet dark clouds of ignorance remain,
Strange wonders shall not cease;"

as is said of the woman taken in adultery.

There is, therefore, nothing which you can wonder at, for there is nothing hid which shall not be known. After this, by the command of the great emperor Charles, she was expelled from her monastery, to her great grief and vexation of mind; and in poverty and misery she passed her life in a discreditable manner to the end. At last, accompanied by one wretched slave, begging her daily bread, from one house, city or village, to another, she died miserably in Pavia.

The noble king Brichtric being dead, king Ecgberht took the rule and government of the Western kingdom after his decease; who, sprung from the royal line of that nation, placed on his head the crown of the whole kingdom, ruling with a powerful sceptre. For he was a most energetic and able man, and subjected many kingdoms to his rule. He reigned thirty-six years. And to Ecgberht succeeded his most potent son, Ethelwlf; to whom succeeded his son Ethelbald; after him his brother Ethelbyrht; after whom his brother Ethelred; and after him their brother Elfred. Ethelwlf, in fact, had by his noble wife four sons, namely, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred and Alfred, who each in turn succeeded to the kingdom.

A.D. 803. Bishop Hibald died, and Egbert succeeded him.[1]

A.D. 830. Celnod was consecrated bishop, and abbot Felgild died, and Egred was made bishop.

A.D. 846. Eanbert received the episcopate.[2]

In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and forty-nine, there sprung up a light out of darkness; there was born, in the royal vill, called by the Angles Wantage, Elfred,[3] king of the Angles, whose pedigree is unfolded in this order. King Elfred was the son of king Ethelwlf, who was the son of Egberht, who was the son of Alhmund, who was the son of Affa,[4] who was the son of Eoppa, who was the son of Ingild; Ingild and Ine were brothers. Ine was the most famous king throughout the limits of the whole nation of the Angles; he royally governed the kingdom of the western regions; and after many years spent in his kingdom, he went to Rome, resigning his present country and kingdom, that he might obtain an eternal one with Christ, who granted him this empire of divine majesty. These were the sons of Coenred, who was the son of Ceolwald, who was the son of Guda, who was the son of Cuderwine,[5] who was the son of Ceawlm,[5] who was the son of Cinric, who was the son of Creoda, who was the son of Cerdic, who was the son of Elesa, who was the son of Gewis, from whom the Britons name all that nation Gewis. He was the son of Brand, who was the son of Belde, who was the son of Woden, who was the son of Frithuwald, who was the son of Frealaf, who was the son of Fridrenwulf,[6] who was the son of Geta, whom the heathens of old worshipped as a god. Of him the famous poet Sedulius makes mention in his Paschal Ode, commencing thus:

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[1] A considerable gap here occurs in Simeon, namely, from 803—830, concerning which see the Preface. Hibald and Egred were bishops of Lindisfarne, and Ceolnoth was archbishop of Canterbury.

[2] This entry occurs on the lower margin of the MS. Eanbert was bishop of Lindisfarne. See Florence of Worcester, A.D. 845.

[3] From this point to the year 887, compare Asser's Life of Alfred.

[4] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 718.

[5] Read "Cuthwine," and "Ceawlin."

[6] Read "Fritheuulf."

> "Since heathen poets in high-sounding phrase
> Their own delusions bellow out,
> And all their art of song employ to praise
> Their vain god Geta, with bombastic shout."

This Geta was the son of Cetwa, who was the son of Beaw, who was the son of Seldwa, who was the son of Heremod, who was the son of Itermod, who was the son of Hatra, who was the son of Wala, who was the son of Bedwig, who was the son of Sem, who was the son of Noe, who was the son of Lamech, who was the son of Matusalem, who was the son of Enoch, who was the son of Malaleel, who was the son of Canaan, who was the son of Enos, who was the son of Seth, who was the son of Adam, the first man. The mother of king Elfred was called Osburg. She was an exceedingly religious woman, and noble in disposition, which nobility she adorned with discretion of mind. The father also was called Oslac, he was the devoted and most trusty cupbearer of king Ethelwlf. He sprung from the Goths and Jutes, of the race of Stuph and Wihtgar, two brothers. Having premised these things, let us now, to the best of our ability, pursue the work which we have undertaken.

A.D. 851, (the third year of the birth of Elfred,) earl Ceorl fought against the Danes, and the Christians obtained the victory over their enemies. The Danes also wintered in the island called Scepige [Sheppey], that is, the Isle of Sheep. In the same year, a great army of pagans came, with three hundred and fifty ships, to the mouth of the river Thames. They pillaged Canterbury, that is, the city of the men of Kent, and put to flight Berhtulf, king of the Mercians, with all his army, who had gone out to battle against them. After this, the Danes became more bold, and assembled their whole army in Suthrige [Surrey]. Hearing of this, Ethelwlf, the warlike king of the Saxons, together with his son Ethelbald, also assembled a numerous army in the place called Aclea [Ockley], that is, the Plain of the Oak.[1] And when the flower of the English nation appeared, resplendent in clashing armour, there ensued a long battle between the English and Danes; the former fighting bravely, when they saw their king conduct himself so fiercely in war; and thus they proved superior to their enemies in the contest. And when they had manfully contended for a very long time, and the fight was courageously and stoutly maintained on both sides, the greatest part of the pagan multitude was entirely overthrown and routed, so that never, in any country, in any one day, either before or since, had so many met their death. On that very day the Christians gloriously obtained the victory, and remained masters of the field of slaughter; rendering thanks to God in hymns and confessions.

A.D. 852. King Ethelslan and earl Alchere met a great army of the pagans in Kent, at the place called Sandwich, which they there, by God's help, almost destroyed, and took nine of their ships; the rest, struck with panic, took refuge in flight.

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[1] Hoveden here adds that he fought with the pagans, and routed them with great slaughter.

A.D. 853, (the fifth year of the birth of Elfred), Burhred king of the Mercians, by ambassadors, besought Ethelwlf king of the West Saxons to grant him his aid, in order that he might bring under his dominion the Midland Britons who dwell between Mercia and the Western sea, and who were frequently rebelling against him. And king Ethelwlf, accepting his embassy, put his army in motion, furnished him with subsidies, and fearlessly went out with king Burhred to battle. He presently began to ravage that country, seized, reduced and subdued it to king Burhred; who, rendering him thanks, dismissed him to return with gladness to his own affairs.

In the same year, king Ethelwlf sent his son Elfred to Rome, attended by a large band of noble soldiers. At this time, the blessed pope Leo[1] presided over the apostolic see, who consecrated the aforesaid child as king, by anointing; and receiving him as his own son by adoption, confirmed him, and then sent him to his country and his father, with the benediction of St. Peter the apostle. At this period, earls Alchere and Wada,[2] together with the men of Kent and Surrey, had a hard fight with the host of the pagans, in the isle which is called in the Saxon tongue Tened, in the British language Ruim. At first the Christians had the victory; but the battle continuing a long time, many on each side perished, and a countless multitude were drowned and slain in the river. Both the aforesaid leaders fell there, fighting in defence of the liberty of their nation.

In this year, after the Feast of Christ's holy Resurrection,[3] king Ethelwlf, of glorious power, gave his daughter to Burhred, king of the Mercians, with great pomp, as is customary with kings, in the town called Chippenham; where, the marriage being performed, she received the rank and title of queen.

A.D. 854. Archbishop Wlfere[4] received the pall, and Eardulf received the episcopate of Lindisfarne.[5]

A.D. 855, (the seventh of the birth of the aforesaid king), an army of pagans took up their quarters for the whole winter in the isle of Sheppey. At this time king Ethelwlf tithed the whole realm of his kingdom, for the salvation of his own soul and those of his forefathers. In that year he went with great honour to the threshold of the chief of the apostles, taking with him his son Elfred, inasmuch as he loved him more than the rest. He was honourably received by the apostolic man, and remained there a whole year diligently occupied in prayers and almsgiving. On his return to his own country, he was violently disliked by his son Ethelbald, and Ealhastan bishop of Sherborn, and many others. The most gracious king Ethelwlf, then, lived two years after he undertook his journey to the Roman see. Among his other good deeds of the present life and attention to regal duty, he took forethought concerning his departure; and in order that his sons might not quarrel after his decease, he wrote an epistle, of eloquent composition, in which he arranged whatever pertained to him by right. He ordered, for himself and all his successors, that throughout the whole inheritance of his land, among ten manors, one poor person, either a native or stranger, should always be assisted or maintained with food, drink, and clothing. For the salvation of his soul, he also ordered three hundred mancuses[1] to be sent to Rome; one hundred to the church of St. Peter, specially to buy oil; and one hundred for the honour of St. Paul; one hundred to the universal apostolic pope. Thereupon, at the death of the glorious king Ethelwlf, his son Ethelbald, contrary to the prohibition of Jesus Christ and the teaching of Christians, contrary also to the custom of all heathens, going up to the bed of his father, took in marriage (to his great disgrace) Judith, daughter of Charles king of the Franks; and after the death of his most noble father, he ruled for two years and a half, without restraint, the kingdom of the West Saxons.

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[1] The fourth pope of that name.

[2] According to Asser, his name was Huda.

[3] Easter day occurred this year upon 2d April.

[4] Archbishop of York.

[5] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xx., and Hoveden.

A.D. 860, (the twelfth of the birth of the illustrious Etheling Elfred), Ethelbald died, and was buried in Sherborne. He being taken from the world, his brother Ethelbyrht added these provinces to his kingdom; that is to say, Kent and Surrey, also Sussex, with all their towns and territories, as was right. In his reign a large army of pagans coming by sea, attacked and pillaged the city of Winchester. But as the said army was returning with great booty to their vessels, Osric, the most noble duke of the men of Hampshire, came up with his people, and the illustrious earl Ethelwlf with the men of Berkshire, met them courageously, with an immense army; and joining battle, the pagans were everywhere slain by the English, assisted by the angelic spirits. And when these terrible enemies could no longer stand by reason of their wounds, a very great multitude perished cruelly, some hiding themselves in coverts of thick brambles, and some taking flight like women. The English, by the favour of fortune, remained masters of the field of slaughter. And so king Ethelbyrht for five years governed peacefully, mildly, and with honour, the kingdom committed to him, and went the way of all flesh, to the great grief of his nobles, bishops, and all the people. Leaving the monarchy of the earthly kingdom, he became partaker of another. He was buried beside his brother in Sherborne, where he awaits the consolation of a future resurrection.

A.D. 864. The pagans wintered in the island called Thanet, which is surrounded on all sides by an estuary of the sea. They entered into a firm league with the Kentish men, and the Kentish men promised to pay them money for the preservation of the treaty. The Danes remained quiet for a few days; yet in the meanwhile, stealing like foxes out of their camp secretly by night, in violation of the treaty, and despising the promise of money,

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[1] A marginal note in the MS. here states, that "a mancus consists of thirty pence."

O infamy! they devastated the whole east border of the Kentish nation. They knew that they would get more money by thievish plunder than by peace; and so indeed it came to pass.

In the following year, that is, in eight hundred and sixty-six, (the eighteenth of Elfred's birth,) Ethelred, brother of Ethelbyrht, king of the West Saxons, took the helm of the kingdom. In the same year, a great fleet of pagans from the Danube entered the territories of Britain, and so wintered in the kingdom of the East Angles, which is called in the Saxon tongue Eastengle; and there this numerous army was formed into cavalry, riding and rushing about hither and thither, seizing enormous plunder, and sparing neither men nor women, widows nor virgins. In these days Elfred the Atheling began, by means of assiduous study, to be imbued with divine doctrines, who was, from his very cradle, loved with extraordinary affection beyond his brethren, by his father and mother. As he grew in stature to youthful age, he appeared more graceful in form than his other brothers; he was remarkable for the brightness of his countenance, and sparkled with eloquent discourse. As the hart pants for the waterbrooks, so he longed that the depths of his heart, and the recesses of his mind, should be penetrated and imbued with sound learning. But, sad to say, by the neglect of his parents and tutors, he remained ignorant of his letters until the twelfth year of his age. This glorious youth and future king endeavoured also day and night to learn the Saxon poems. When, therefore, one day his most excellent mother was showing him and his brothers a certain Saxon book of poetry, she said to them, "Which ever of you, my dearest sons, can first learn this volume, I will give it to him." But he, moved with a divine impulse, and delighted with the beauty of the capital letter, replied to his mother, "Will you indeed give it?" She, smiling, rejoicing and assenting said, "I will assuredly give it." He quickly took the book from the hand of his mother, went to the master, showed the book, and read, his preceptor instructing him. In the course of no long time, he came before his beloved mother, and recited the book from memory. She gave great thanks to the Saviour's goodness, acknowledging that the grace of God was in the mind of the youth. After that, inflamed with the desire of divine love, he devoutly learnt very many psalms, and the daily course, that is, the celebration of the hours; which, having collected into one volume, he carried inseparably in his bosom night and day. O happy race of men! O wise king! You carry that which carries you; you carry the keys of wisdom: thou lovest wisdom and shalt be wise, doing judgment and justice in the earth. O ye clerics, attend, and observe the king carry this book in his bosom day and night. You neither know, nor desire to know, the law of God. The same man, when he became king, especially bewailed his son, that is, his mind, that it had not been instructed in the liberal arts.[1]

A.D. 867, (the nineteenth of the birth of Elfred,) the aforesaid host of pagans crossed from the East Angles to the city of York, which is situated on the north bank of the river Humber. At the same time, a very great strife was kindled among the Northumbrian people; and no wonder, for he who loves strife shall find it. In those days, the nation of the Northumbrians had violently expelled from the kingdom the rightful king of their nation, Osbryht by name, and had placed at the head of the kingdom a certain tyrant, named Alla. When the pagans came upon the kingdom, that dissension was allayed by divine counsel and the aid of the nobles. King Osbryht and Alla, having united their forces and formed an army, came to the city of York; on their approach, the multitude of the shipmen immediately took to flight. The Christians, perceiving their flight and terror, found that they themselves were the stronger party. They fought on each side with much ferocity, and both kings fell. The rest who escaped made peace with the Danes. In this year Ealhstan, bishop of the church of Sherborne, left the way and life of a temporal world; after having for fifty years honourably ruled his see, he rests in the peace of the church, being honourably interred in this seat of the episcopate.

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[1] There appears to be some confusion in this obscure sentence.

A.D. 868. In his twentieth year, king Elfred took a wife from Mercia, noble by descent, the daughter of Ethelred, earl of the Gaini, who was called by the Angles "Mucel," on account of his being large in stature and old in wisdom. At that time, the aforesaid host of pagans left the Northumbrians, and made their dreaded approach to Nottingham, which city in the British tongue is called Tignocebanc,[1] which means the House of Caves; in which place these treacherous strangers wintered that year, their arrival being unpleasing enough to all the people. But the mighty king of the Mercians, called Burhred, and all his nobles, hearing of their coming, held counsel with his earls and warriors, and all the people under him, how they might, by their warlike valour, overcome their enemies, or repel them from the kingdom. He sent also messengers with great speed to the man of renowned valour, Elfred, and to Ethelred his brother, begging that they would render him fraternal assistance, by which they might subdue them with victorious might; which they, like undaunted lions, did not hesitate to do. Elfred thus stirred up, gave speedy orders to assemble an army, bearing in mind the saying, "A man though rich never does anything, if, trembling and groaning, he fancies himself poor." A strong man can by no means accomplish what he desires if he is timid, and thinks himself poor, that is, in sad plight, though he may do what he wishes by manfully striving. His brother being inflamed with the same zeal, they came as far as Nottingham, prepared for the enterprise. But the pagans, secured by the fortifications of the citadel, offer battle; form their line; present a numerous army; yet fearful, perceiving by clear signs that the Christian people in tens of hundreds and thousands would resist their adversaries, stimulated by their devoted leaders. At length, by the favour of the Almighty Lord, the blast of the whirlwind ceased; the hearts of the wicked were subdued, asking of the Christians peace and a treaty, as if they had besought the favour of Christ in this spirit,

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[1] Or more correctly (according to Petrie), "Tigguocobauc;" concerning which name, see Camd. Brit. col. 577.

"The raging floods of strife suppress,
Thou Ruler of the earth and sky;
And the firm earth securely bless
With the same peace which reigns on high."

Peace was made between the kings and the pagans; and they, departing from each other, were separated as sheep from the goats.

A.D. 869, (the twenty-first of Elfred's age,) the before-mentioned host again went to the nation of the Northumbrians, and there remained a whole year, raging and storming, killing and destroying a multitude of men and women.

A.D. 870. In the following year, however, while the splendour of the sun illuminated the circuit of the world, and the year of the incarnation of our Lord eight hundred and seventy had arrived, then shone the period when king Elfred completed twenty-one years. An[1] enormous multitude of Danes and, so to speak, troops of legions were assembled, so that many thousands seemed to be present, as if they had increased from one thousand to twenty myriads. They came after this through Mercia to the East Angles, and fearlessly wintered in the city called Thetford; but king Eadmund at that time reigned over all the kingdoms, as the event which occurred at the termination of his most holy life proved. In the same year the aforesaid king, with his men, fought fiercely and manfully against that army. But since the merciful God foreknew that he would come by a martyr's crown to the crown of heavenly glory, he there fell gloriously;[2] the honour of whose passion may well be mentioned in our history, that the sons of men may know and acknowledge how terrible is Christ, the Son of God, in the counsels of men; and with how glorious a triumph He adorns those whom here He afflicts with the honourable mark of suffering, thus fulfilling the saying, "No man is crowned except he strive lawfully." [2 Tim. ii. 5.] The devout king Eadmund took the government of the East Angles, which also he held with the strong right hand of power, always adoring and glorifying God for all his good things which he had enjoyed. In the same year in which this illustrious king and martyr entered, by the martyr's crown, upon the joys of supreme felicity, Ceolnoth, archbishop of the city of Canterbury, went the way of all flesh, and was buried by the clergy in that city.

A.D. 871, (the twenty-second[3] year of the birth of Elfred, the glorious king of the Saxons,) the host of pagans, of hated memory, left the East Angles, and entered the kingdom of the West Saxons, coming to the royal vill called Reading, on the south side of the river Thames, in that district which is called by the inhabitants of that country Berkshire. On the third day of the arrival of these enemies of the Angles, their earls, with a large body of men, made a foray on the border of that river, and plundered an immense number. Some of them moreover endeavoured to make a vallum between the rivers Thames and Kennet; but the design and work of the Danes was overthrown by the aid of the Angles, so as to fulfil in them that saying of the scholar:—

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[1] Hoveden here adds, that the Danish army was under Hinguar and Hubba.

[2] Simeon elsewhere states, that bishop Humbert was killed along with him. See also Gaimar, p. 765.

[3] More correctly, in his twenty-third year.

"Though richly clothed in purple robes,
And with bright jewels crown'd,
The wicked move in lonely might,
Hated by all around."

And again:

"Think not that those in happy honour live,
Whose honours servile wretches only give."

While the mischievous plunderers were actively labouring at their work, presently there came Ethelwlf, duke of the district of Berkshire, a man of remarkable energy, accompanied by his troops, and girt with the strength of a triple breastplate. On perceiving the multitude of the barbarians, the prince of the Christian people said to his followers, "Their army is numerous, but is not to be feared. Though when put in array against us it be the stronger, yet Christ, who is our leader, is still stronger than they." The Christians then met the Danes, trusting in the protection of the name of Christ; the aforesaid duke, forming his excellent troops in the place called Englafield, earnestly exhorted them to resist their opponents; and here was fought a very severe battle, in which many on each side fell wounded, and many were slain. There fell one of the princes of the Danes, with a great multitude of his army, the rest escaping by flight. The Christians obtained the palm of victory, and were masters of the field of slaughter.

These things being accomplished, in the course of four days after, the mighty king Ethelred and his brother Elfred, visiting their numerous armies, (such was the power and the valour of these kings,) came to Reading, desiring either to live with honour in the kingdom, or to fall in battle for Christ. And as the valiant king Ethelred, with his beloved brother, had reached the gates of the citadel, slaying and overthrowing their enemies before and behind; on the other side, the pagans, resisting with hostile fury, made slaughter. But, alas! grievous to state, the enemies of the Angles on that day obtained the victory. Also Ethelwlf of Berkshire, who at first chafed like a lion in the battle, there fell with other faithful ones in Christ. Excited by this distress and shame, the people of the Angles implored the assistance of the Angels, that they would vouchsafe to render aid from above. Then indeed again after four days, they march their army against the aforesaid enemies, take up their arms, and station their troops in the place called Etscesdun,[1] which may rightly be rendered, The hill of the ash. And there these illustrious men, most valiant in fight, go forth with all their forces, eager for the battle. The Danes also, with much skill, dividing themselves into two bands, prepared to fight manfully with their troops. They had also two kings and many dukes, and, adopting a wary system, they assigned one half of the army to the two kings, the other half to all the dukes. The Angles, observing this, also formed two divisions, and constructed engines of war and engineering defences. King Elfred then very promptly advanced with his troops to the engagement, knowing full well that the victory would be gained, not by the multitude of men, but by the mercy and compassion of God. King Ethelred indeed was in his tent, engaged in prayer and attentively hearing mass and attending divine service; and these holy mysteries were of much benefit to the king and Christian people, as will appear in the sequel.

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[1] More correctly Escesdun; now Ashendon.

The Christian people and the Angles, then, most devotedly determined to engage with confidence in battle against their enemies; and that king Ethelred, the bravest of princes, should contend with his tens of thousands against their legions, that is to say, one king of the Angles against two of the Danes; and king Elfred, with his dukes and warriors, lieutenants and people, should try the issue of battle against all the chiefs of the pagans, as had been determined: which arrangement was exceedingly satisfactory to both the kings and to the people. These matters having been then determinately appointed on both sides, as king Elfred delayed long in prayer, and the pagans came rapidly into the field, prepared for a severe contest, Elfred, though then only the second in the kingdom, could no longer endure the hostile array, without an attempt either to overcome them in battle, or to perish. In a sudden excitement of mind, he rushed upon the dense masses of the Danes, with the consecrated troops of the Angles; then came the king, girt with arms and with prayers, who perceived that the army of his brother was very skilfully managed, as if the warlike Judas had gone out to battle. They contended with manly resolution on both sides, and in that place fell one thousand one hundred and fifty men. Those who died for their country and their country's laws, were carried, as it is meet to believe, to the country of everlasting happiness; the others were given over to him of whom it is said, "He is the author of all unrighteousness." The kings, verily, not only by words exhorted their people to be firm, but also, by their military valour, overthrew their enemies by arms. At length the Danes, seeing that the lines of their troops were broken, became troubled, astonished, and alarmed, and then were seized with a great panic. For the Danes were struck to the heart with terror from God, not being able longer to endure the attacks of the Angles in that meeting. They, betaking themselves to an ignoble flight, dropping their swords, owned themselves conquered, and begged for quarter. The kings, stretching out their swords, with difficulty restrained the fighting multitude. The ignoble rabble fled in all directions, whom the Anglian people pursued throughout the day. On that occasion many thousands were cut down, the destruction of whom the kings witnessing, ascribed great glory to God who had that day bestowed on them such a palm of victory. There also fell king Bergsecg,[1] and with him three dukes, duke Sidroc, a veteran warrior, to whom may be applied the saying,

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[1] Or Bagsecg.

"Grown old of evil days." There perished also duke Sidroc the younger, and Osbern, a leader of the army, and duke Frana and duke Harald with their troops; who, going the broad and easy way, descended into the depth of the pit. They knew not the way of instruction, neither understood they the path thereof; it was put far from their face.[1]

This glorious battle being finished, the kings and all the people were filled with unbounded exultation, seeing the flight of the Danes and the firmness of the Angles. After the lapse of fourteen days, the most excellent king Ethelred, disregarding that the year of jubilee[2] is one of forgiveness, aided by the trusty help of his brother, called together the army, collected the spoils, and divided arms and many gifts among his comrades. These princes of the people were well aware that states would be happy, if either those persons who loved wisdom were in power, or if it came to pass that their rulers applied their minds to wisdom. The Angles and Danes again met in battle, and applying their utmost strength, the Danes nearly obtained the victory.

In the same year king Ethelred, full of age and accomplished in goodness, after the achievement of famous wars, entered on the bliss of a future life and endless kingdom, with the King of worlds in the land of the living. The aforesaid king being taken from this world, Elfred was presently chosen by the dukes and bishops of the whole nation, and was besought, not only by them, but by the whole people, that he would rule over them, "to be avenged of the heathen and to rebuke the people."[3] Having obtained the government of the whole nation, he was always eminent in valour, and victor in all wars, fortune favouring and Christ acting for him. The aforesaid host waged war against him with great fierceness, and finding the roughness of the Angles, and perceiving their own weakness, turned their backs in flight. But, alas! provoked by the audacity of their pursuers, they returned again to the battle, obtaining the prize of victory and remaining masters of the field of death. In this year also, the Saxons made a treaty of peace with the same pagans, on condition that they should depart from them.

A.D. 872, (the twenty-fourth of Elfred's age,) the aforesaid host of pagans came to London and there wintered; the Mercians made peace with them.[4]

A.D. 873, (the twenty-fourth[5] year of the birth of Elfred, king of the Angles,) the oft-mentioned host, leaving London, marched to the country of the Northumbrians, and there wintered; the Mercians again made a peace with them.

A.D. 874, (the twenty-fifth[6] of the birth of Elfred, king of the Angles,) the above-named host left the province of Lindsey, went to Mercia, and wintered at Hripadun [Repton]. Also they expelled Burhred king of the Mercians from his kingdom, and compelled him to depart to Rome, in the twenty-second year of his reign.

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[1] See Baruch iii. 20, 21. [2] See Levit. xxv. 14, 17. [3] See Ps. cxlix. 7.

[4] See Simeon's Hist. of the Church of Durham, chap. xxi.

[5] Read, "the twenty-fifth." [6] Read, "the twenty-sixth."

After his arrival at Rome he did not live long in this world, but went to Him who is the true life, and was honourably interred in the church of St. Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, ever Virgin, waiting for his second advent, when He will bounteously grant just rewards to the righteous, and dispense dread punishment to the wicked. The Danes, moreover, after his expulsion brought the kingdom of the Mercians under their own dominion. They entrusted it to a certain soldier of that nation named Ceolwlf, on this condition, that when they wished, they should have it again without guile and without injury.

A.D. 875, (the twenty-sixth[1] year of the birth of king Elfred,) the aforesaid army left Repton, and divided itself into two bodies. One division went with Haldene to the country of the Northumbrians,[2] laid it waste, and wintered near the river called the Tyne; and subdued the whole nation under their dominion; they devastated also the Picts and the Stretduccenses[3] [the Strathclyde Britons]. Bishop Eardulf and abbot Eadred, taking the body of St. Cuthbert from Lindisfarne, wandered about with that treasure for nine years, flying before the face of the barbarians from place to place. The other division of that host went with Guthrum and Oscytel and Amund, kings of the pagans, to the place called Grantabric [Cambridge], and there wintered. King Elfred, prepared for a naval engagement, met six ships upon the sea, bravely engaging with which he took one; the rest fled, seized with alarm.

A.D. 876, (the twenty-seventh[4] of king Elfred's birth,) the aforesaid host, departing by night from Cambridge, entered the castle called Wareham. Of whose sudden approach the king of the Saxons having obtained previous notice, made a league with them, taking hostages, on condition that they should depart from his kingdom. But they, in their wonted manner, caring neither for hostages nor oaths, in violation of the treaty, turned aside one night to Exeter, which is called in British Cairwisc, in Latin Civitas aquarum, The city of waters.

A.D. 877, (the twenty-seventh[5] of Elfred's birth,) that infamous host left Exeter, went to the royal vill of Chippenham, and wintered there. King Elfred at this time suffered great tribulation, and led a harassed life. Encouraged however by St. Cuthbert[6] in a manifest revelation, king Elfred fought against the Danes, and obtained the victory at the time and place which the saint had ordered; and was always afterwards terrible and invincible to his enemies, and held St. Cuthbert in especial honour. How he overcame his enemies a short time after may here be read.

Lastly, in the same year, Inguar[7] and Healifilene, with twenty-three ships, rushing like fierce wolves from the country of Demetia[8] in which they had wintered, after perpetrating much slaughter upon the Christians, and burning monasteries, sailed to Devonshire, and there they were slain by the brave ministers of the king, with one thousand two hundred men, before the citadel of Cynwith,[1] since in the same fortress very many servants of the king, as has been said, had shut themselves, for the sake of refuge. King Elfred, trusting in the Lord God, attended by a few troops, entrenched himself in the place called Athelney; dwelling in which with his comrades, he frequently and indefatigably harassed the enemy from the fortress. He did this at the time of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ [23d March]; and seven weeks and one day (that is, fifty full days) after, he came to Ecgbert's stone,[2] which is in the east part of the forest called in the Anglian language Mucelpurlu; in the Latin, Magna Silva, The great wood; and in British, Coitmapur.[3] There, all the inhabitants of Somerset, Wiltshire, and also Hampshire, met the much-loved king; and at the sight of him rejoiced with great exultation of heart, as though receiving him as one raised from the dead. On the third day after, he came with a large army to the place called Edderandun,[4] near which he found immense battalions of pagans in a dense mass prepared for battle. At the first dawn of day, the king and all the flower of his people arrayed themselves in their martial accoutrements, as in the triple breastplate of faith, hope, and the love of God. They, rising from the earth, boldly incited the common people to battle, trusting in the goodness of the Creator, secure and fortified as with a rampart by the presence of the king, whose countenance shone like that of an angel. Both sides then engaged in battle for a great part of the day, and their shouts and clashing of arms were heard to a great distance.

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[1] Read, "the twenty-seventh."

[2] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xxi., where further details of this inroad are given.

[3] Read, "Stretcludenses."

[4] Read, "the twenty-eighth."

[5] Read, "the twenty ninth."

[6] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xxv.

[7] Compare the Saxon Chron. A.D. 878, and Asser, p. 458, by which it appears that we must here read, "the brother of Inguar and Healfdene."

[8] South Wales. See Camd. Brit. col. 478.

The Great Overlooker, therefore, beholding from his secret place on high the desire of his earthly king, granted him the assistance of the angelic power. He, at length gaining the victory, overthrew his enemies, giving thanks to the most high Saviour with joyfulness of heart. And while the king with his troops was there rejoicing, his enemies who survived were weeping with greatl amentation, on account of the severity of hunger and cold, and the fear of so great a king; and they now, who were always opposed to it, beg the favour of peace. They promise hostages and offer oaths. The king giving ear to all these things, moved in his heart with pity, granted all they asked. Their king, Guthrum by name, averred that he wished to become a Christian, and, under the hand of the most religious king, was royally received in the cleansing of baptism. This Guthrum, whom the king of the Saxons took as the son of his adoption, was washed in the baptism of salvation, with thirty other chosen men. After he was baptized, he remained with him twelve nights in great honour, and his spiritual father bestowed on him, and on all who had received the Christian faith, great and untold gifts.

[1] See Asser, p. 458, note [3]. [2] See Asser, p. 459, note [3].

[3] Read, "Coitmawr."

[4] Read, "Ethandun;" and see Asser, p. 459, note [6].

A.D. 879, (the twenty-eighth[1] of the birth of king Elfred,) the aforesaid host of pagans, rising as they had promised from Chippenham, went to Cirencester, which in the British tongue is called Cairceri, and there remained the space of one year. Also in that year came an immense army of pagans from foreign countries to the river Thames, and, uniting with the aforesaid body, they banded together, as is the manner of the wicked. An eclipse occurred the same year, between the ninth hour and the evening.

A.D. 880, (the twenty-ninth[2] of the age of the glorious king Elfred,) the often-mentioned host of pagans, leaving Cirencester, went to the East Angles, and dividing that country, took up their residence there. The pagans who had wintered at Fulham, forsook Britain, and began to visit France with their dire acquaintance, where they remained one year.

A.D. 881, (the thirtieth[3] year of Elfred's age,) the aforesaid army, mounted on horses, made a descent upon the territories of the Franks; and it seems wonderful that these unskilled enemies should dare to attack so brave and warlike a people; but then the fierce Franks, rushing bravely with indomitable strength from their castles, towns, cities and towers, were roused to wrath like lions, at seeing the impious powers of the ungodly break forth, the wicked exulting with joy and gladness, good men prostrated with fear, the innocent weeping, the guilty rejoicing. Taking prudent counsel, the brave Franks engaged in a hard fight with the pagans. At the end of the battle the Franks returned in triumph; the pagans, who had obtained horses, rode in different directions. In these days many monasteries in the same nation were overthrown and desolated. Moreover the brethren of the monastery of St. Benedict,[4] taking with them his relics from the tomb where they had been laid with great splendour, wandered hither and thither.

A.D. 882, (the thirty-first[5] of the age of the glorious king Elfred,) the army of pagans towed their vessels up the river called the Maese, into the territory of the Frankish nation, and wintered there one year. Lastly, in the same year, Elfred, king of the Saxons, the bravest of leaders, prepared for a naval engagement, encountered the pagan vessels on the sea, of which he, victorious no less at sea than on land, by his great bravery, conquered two ships, the whole of their crews perishing. For this victory this prince of princes rendered due thanks to the Author of salvation. We must relate what next took place. After this he severely wounded the captains of two vessels, with all their shipmates, who helplessly laying down their arms, with bended knees and suppliant prayers, gave themselves up to this great king, as long as a spark of life should remain in them.

In the following year, that is, eight hundred and eighty-three, (the thirty-second[6] of the age of the most illustrious king Elfred,) that infamous host drew their vessels up the river called Scheldt, and there remained a year.

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[1] Read, "the thirty-first."

[2] Read, "the thirty-second."

[3] Read, "the thirty-third."

[4] Concerning this incident, see Mabill. Annal. Ord. S. Bened. lib. xxxviii. § 8.

[5] Read, "the thirty-fourth."

[6] Read, "the thirty-fifth."

Guthred, from a slave, was made king; and the episcopal see was restored at Chester-le-street.[1]

A.D. 884, (the thirty-third[2] of the birth of the most illustrious king Elfred,) that most base host separated itself into two divisions. One went into East France, the other coming to Britain went to the place called Rochester, in Kent. Before its gate the pagans erected a fortress, but yet could not take the city, because the citizens bravely defended themselves, until king Elfred, the protector of the whole realm, came upon them with a large army. At the sudden approach of the king, the Danes, seized with alarm, speedily took refuge in their vessels, leaving their fortress and the horses which they had brought with them from France, and also the captives of the same nation whom they had taken from France. At this time in the same year, this mighty king sent his fleet, full of warriors, from Kent to the East Angles. And when they approached the mouth of the river Stoure, suddenly there met them thirteen ships of the pagans ready for battle, who, fiercely engaging on all sides, all the pagans were routed, and all their ships, with the whole of their treasure, taken. But those of the Danes who had contrived to escape, collected vessels confusedly from every quarter, and engaging in a sea-fight with the Angles when they were drowsily asleep, they were beaten; an unarmed multitude, to whom may fitly be applied the saying, "Many shut their eyes when they ought to keep a look-out."

In that same year, a host of pagans from Germany came down upon the country of the Old Saxons, against whom warlike men uniting on every side, that is, the Saxons and the Frislanders, contended manfully and bravely; when in two battles the Christian people, by the favour of the divine goodness, obtained the victory.

At that period pope Marinus,[3] of most sacred memory, went the way of all flesh, yielding up his spirit to Him who gave it. He freed the Saxon school, in the city of Rome, from all tribute, out of loving regard to the most gracious king Elfred; he also sent him many gifts, among which he gave him a part of the most blessed cross on which our Lord Jesus Christ hung for the salvation of the whole human race.

There were born to the king sons and daughters, very distinguished, and of fair beauty, whose names are here emblazoned, Eadward and Ethelward, Ethelfled and Ethelgifu, and Elfthrid. The king's son Eadward, and his sister Ealfthrid, were always brought up in the king's court with great attention by their tutors and nurses; moreover, they studiously learnt psalms, and the Saxon books and poems. Ethelward, his younger brother, placed under the exercises of literary discipline, distinguished himself amongst most of the children of the soldiers, both noble and of lower rank. Ethelfled, their sister, was united in marriage to Eadred, prince of the Mercians; their sister Ethelgyfu was placed under the rules of the monastic life.

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[1] This last sentence is an interlineation in the MS. See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xxviii.

[2] Read, "the thirty sixth"

[3] He probably died in the May of this year, eight hundred and eighty four. See Jaffé, p. 293.

At this period archbishop Plegmund faithfully and gloriously ruled the church of Christ; this revered man shone with the fruits of wisdom, being exalted on the four pillars, to wit, justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude.

At the same time Warfrid[1] adorned the sceptre of the government of the little city of Worcester by his most devoted disposition of mind. He, by the command, and at the earnest desire of the king, translated Gregory's Book of Dialogues into the Saxon tongue; sometimes very elegantly rendering sense for sense. He had invited also the illustrious priests, Ethelstan and Werwulf, to come to him from Mercia, on account of their being more excellently and fully skilled in the knowledge of the divine law; these he especially loved and honoured, and by their teaching and erudition this pacific king was glorified above all the kings of the earth.

A.D. 886, (the thirty-fifth[2] of the age of the glorious king Elfred,) the infamous host of the Danes again came into the country of the West Franks, and took a position on the river called the Seine. They came to the city of Paris, and there wintered, depriving the citizens of the passage of the bridge. But God granting the aid of his true help, and the citizens bravely defending themselves, they were unable to effect a breach in the fortifications.

At the same time the king of the Angles nobly restored and rendered habitable the great city of London, after many burnings of cities and slaughters of the people, and committed it to the care of Ethelred, the chief duke of the Mercians; and all, Angles and Saxons, who before had been everywhere dispersed with the pagans, or were freed from captivity, came before the king of their own accord, submitting to him as their lord; and he, who was of most gracious disposition, granted to all the patronage of his kindness.

A.D. 887, (the thirty-sixth[3] of the birth of the renowned king Elfred,) the aforesaid host, leaving the city of Paris, went up the Seine; and thence up the mouth of the river called the Marne; and from thence they came to a place called Chezy, a royal vill, in which place they took up their quarters for a whole year. And in the following year they entered the mouth of the river called the Yonne, not without great damage to the country, and there they stayed a year.

[4]At that time, moreover, Elfred, king of the Saxons, instinct with the divine blessing, was enabled both to read and to interpret the sacred writings; and he was afflicted with many tribulations in this world, although he was settled in the royal power. We have also seen and read letters sent to him from Jerusalem, from the patriarch Bel,[5] and divers gifts. How he extended the empire of his realm, and restored the walls of cities, and strengthened the

[1] See Asser, p. 465.

[2] Read, "the thirty eighth."

[3] Read, "the thirty-ninth."

[4] The following sentences are unconnected extracts taken from Asser.

[5] Read, "from the patriarch Abel." See Asser, p. 472, note [3]

fortifications of such castles as had been broken down, and erected them where there had been none before, who is sufficiently adorned with polished eloquence as to declare with praising lips? Who can tell also how he enriched holy places with ornaments and royal gifts? He was frequently distressed in mind against princes and rulers, and all the race of the perverse, because they would not follow him in the studies in which he laboured. But yet he alone endeavoured to guide the helm of his government, as an excellent steersman guides his vessel, so as to bring the life of his glorious soul to the harbour of a peaceful paradise. He was wont to keep in constant remembrance what the poet sings:

"Wise is the man who firmly builds
His house upon a rock,
Lasting and strong, which no wild storms
Or fiercest winds can shock."

And again:

"Though winds to fury lash the sea,
And earth's strong fabric shake,
No dread confusion ere can cause
The wise man's heart to quake.
Secured within a rampart strong,
He leads a quiet life;
Serenely calm, he smiling views
The elemental strife."

Reflecting upon these things with spiritual searching of heart, this king of most pious mind was adorned with indescribable acts of the fruits of virtue. On the sacred festivals what bounties he bestowed on his bishops and dukes and soldiers who can relate? Then the poor leaped with joy; then the orphans and widows praised him with exceeding gladness of heart. He well knew that saying of the wise man, "Then is money precious, when it has been transferred to others; in the exercise of bounty possession ceases." Finally, he made it his business, not only to admonish bishops shining with heavenly lustre, that they should correct the faults of the people and check the folly of the multitude by reproof; not only did he admonish the pastors of the people, but also he taught his princes and most loved ministers, that they should always apply themselves most wisely to the common advantage of the whole kingdom.

The same king founded a very fair monastery in the place called Athelney, near which, on the western side, a well-fortified castle was constructed by the command and execution of the said king. In this monastery he assembled from all quarters monks of diverse orders, and established them there. He founded also another monastery near the east gate of the city called Shaftesbury, very suitable for the abode of nuns, in which he placed as abbess his daughter Ethelgifu, a virgin devoted to God. To both monasteries he granted such great gifts and possessions as would suffice them for food and for clothing as long as they should exist.

These things which we have related being fully and firmly accomplished, the oft-named king Elfred, with his wonted acuteness of disposition, began to turn over in the depth of his mind, and in turning over to meditate upon, that which is written in holy Scripture, "Though[1] thou offerest rightly, and dost not divide rightly, thou hast sinned." And that saying of Solomon the wisest of kings was thoroughly laid to heart, "The king's heart is in the hand of the Almighty." [Prov. xxi. 1.] His revenue he divided into three parts, in the following manner. The first portion of his income he annually bestowed upon his warriors; the second, on the workmen, whom he had gathered from many nations; the third, upon the strangers who came to him from all parts; ever bearing in mind that "God loveth a cheerful giver." Though enthroned in regal power, he verily was exercised by many and various thorns of sufferings.[2]

A.D. 888. Prince Beocca carried to Rome the alms of king Elfred. On that journey died Ethelsuith, the sister of the same king, and was buried in Pavia.

A.D. 890. Abbot Beornhelm conveyed to Rome the alms of king Elfred and the West Saxons. In the same year died Guthrum, king of the Northumbrians.[3] King Elfred, as before stated, received him at baptism, and called him Ethelstan. In this year the before-mentioned host went from the Seine to St. Lo, which is situated between Brittany and Gaul, but were put to flight by the Bretons, many being drowned in the river hard-by.

A.D. 891. Heathured received the episcopate.[4]

A.D. 892. Wlfhere, bishop of York, died in the thirty-ninth year of his archiepiscopate.

A.D. 893. The East Saxons and Northumbrians gave hostages and swore fealty to king Elfred against the aforesaid pagans, who had now returned into England.

A.D. 894. The aforesaid army which besieged Exeter, laid waste all about Chichester. But, not long after, they were put to flight by those who were in the city; many were slain, and many were captured out of their vessels. In this year king Guthred[5] died.

A.D. 899. King Elfred died,[6] after having reigned twenty-eight years; his son Edward succeeded him, having been carefully admonished by his father that he should specially honour St. Cuthbert. Likewise bishop Eardulf died in Cunceceastre [Chestre-le-street], whither he had translated the body of St. Cuthbert, with which he had fled from place to place before the host of the pagans, in much toil and want, for nine years. To him succeeded Cutheard[7] in the see.

A.D. 900. Ethelbald was consecrated to the bishopric of the church of York.

A.D. 901. Osbrith was driven from his kingdom.

A.D. 902. Brehtsig[8] was slain.

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[1] No such passage occurs in the Vulgate.

[2] At this point Asser ends.

[3] This is an error: he was a king, not of the Northumbrians, but of the Northmen.

[4] This entry occurs in the margin of the MS., but is out of place, as Heathured, bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeded bishop Ecgbert in 819. See Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 278.

[5] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xxix.

[6] The correct date is A.D. 901.

[7] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xxxi.

[8] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 905.

A.D. 906. King Edward, compelled by necessity, confirmed a peace with the East Angles and Northumbrians.

A.D. 910. The Angles and Danes fought at Teontanbole.[1] King Edward took London, and Oxford, and what pertained to it. In this year a large band of pirates assailed with cruel devastation the places about the river Severn; but there very soon nearly the whole perished.

A.D. 912. King Reingwald and earl Oter and Osvul Cracabane broke into and plundered Dunbline.

A.D. 914. King Niel was slain by his brother Sihtric.

A.D. 919. King Inguald[2] stormed York.

A.D. 920. King Sihtric stormed Devonport.

A.D. 923.[3] King Edward died, leaving the government to his son, Ethelstan.

A.D. 925. Wigred was consecrated bishop to the see of St. Cuthbert.

A.D. 927. King Ethelstan drove king Gudfrid from the kingdom of the Britons.[4]

A.D. 933. King Ethelstan ordered his brother Eadwin to be drowned in the sea.

A.D. 934. King Ethelstan, going with a large army to Scotland, came to the tomb of St. Cuthbert, commended himself and his expedition to the protection of the saint, bestowed on him many and divers gifts becoming a king, and lands; delivering to the torments of eternal fire whoever should take away any of these from him. After this he subdued his enemies, laid waste Scotland with his land force as far as Dunfoeder and Wertormore, and with his navy he ravaged as far as Caithness.

A.D. 937. King Ethelstan fought at Wendune[5] and put to flight king Onlaf, with six hundred and fifteen ships; also Constantine king of the Scots and the king of the Cumbrians, with all their host.

A.D. 939.[6] King Ethelstan died; to him succeeded his brother Edmund in the kingdom. In this year king Onlaf first came to York; thence marching south, he besieged Northampton; but effecting nothing there, he made a diversion to Tamworth and plundered all around; when on his return he had reached Leicester, king Edmund met him with an army. There was no hard fight, since the two archbishops, Oda and Wlstan, reconciling the kings to each other, put a stop to the battle. And so peace being made, Watling-street became the boundary of each kingdom, Edmund governing the south, Onlaf the north part.

A.D. 941. Olilaf,[7] having plundered the church of St. Balter, and burnt Tiningham, was afterwards killed; whence the men of York ravaged the island of Lindisfarne, and slew many. The son of Sihtric, named Onlaf, reigned over the Northumbrians.

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[1] Read, "Teottenhale," and compare the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 910.

[2] More probably Reignold. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 923.

[3] More correctly, A.D. 924.

[4] A mistake, probably, for the Northumbrians. See Florence of Worcester, A.D. 926.

[5] In his History of the Church of Durham, chap. xxxiii., Simeon tells us that this place was also called Brunanburh.

[6] Hoveden ascribes this event to A.D. 940.

[7] Read, "Onlaf," with Hoveden.

A.D. 943. The Northumbrians drove their king Onlaf from his kingdom.

A.D. 945. King Edmund, the two kings being expelled, obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians.

A.D. 948. King Edmund was slain, and his brother Edred received the kingdom; he was a lover of justice and piety. Presently compassing Northumbria, he obtained possession of the whole; but the Northumbrians, after swearing fealty to him, set up a certain Dane, Eiric, as king over them.

A.D. 950. As king Eadred, having ravaged Northumbria, was then retiring, the Northumbrians assailing him, cut off the rear of his army. The king resolved to bring back his army and utterly destroy the whole province, but the inhabitants casting off the king whom they had appointed, speedily pacified Eadred with gifts.

A.D. 951. Ouvel,[1] king of the Britons, died.

A.D. 952. Here ended the kings of the Northumbrians; henceforth that province was governed by earls.

A.D. 953. Earl Osulf received the earldom of the Northumbrians.

A.D. 955. King Eadred dying, Eadwin succeeded him, the son of Edmund who reigned before him.

A.D. 956. The blessed abbot Dunstan was expelled by Eadwin.

A.D. 957. At the death of Eadwin, his brother Eadgar succeeded to the kingdom; he was a man of great devotion to the worship of God, and therefore held the kingdom in peace and honour, seventeen years,—eight kings being subject to him. After him reigned his son Eadward, who, having been slain by the treachery of his stepmother, rests at Shaftsbury. To him succeeded his brother Ethelred, the father of king Edward, whom he had begotten of Emma.

HERE follows a recapitulation of what has been said about king Elfred. Then the succession of the kings in order, who came, and in what way, to the kingdom of the Angles, from the History of William of Malmesbury.[2]

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ALTHOUGH others feared the truth of this prophecy, yet it excited the derision of archbishop Stigand, who said, "The old man being at the point of death raves about nonsense." Yet we have experienced the truth of the prophecy; since England, indeed, has become the habitation of foreigners, and been brought under the tyranny of strangers. There is at this day not one Englishman, either duke, or bishop, or abbot. Foreigners altogether consume the riches and prey on the bowels of England, nor is there any hope of a termination of the misery.

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[1] This was Howel, surnamed Dha, or the Good. See Annales Cambriæ, ap. Petrie and Hardy, p. 837.

[2] Simeon here introduces a long extract from William of Malmesbury's History of the Kings, § 154, containing an account of king Edgar's vision, which it has not been considered necessary to repeat in this place. He then continues as in the text given above.

In the year from our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and forty-eight, Elfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, was born in that district called Berkshire; of whom the[1] genealogy is developed in the following order:—King Elfred was the son of Athelwulf king of the West Saxons; who was the son of Ecgbert, who was the son of Ealhmund, who was the son of Eafa, who was the son of Eoppa, who was the son of Ingles. Ingles and Ine, that famous king of the West Saxons, were two brothers. This Ine went to Rome, and there ending this present life, he went to reign with Christ in a heavenly country, as Beda relates in his History of the Angles. They were the sons of Coenred, who was the son of Ceolwald, who was the son of Cutha, who was the son of Cuthwine, who was the son of Ceaulin, who was the son of Cinric, who was the son of Creoda, who was the son of Cerdic, who was the son of Elesa, who was the son of Esla, who was the son of Gewis, from whom the Britons name all that nation Gewis. He was the son of Wig, who was the son of Freawine, who was the son of Freothegar, who was the son of Brand, who was the son of Bealdeag, who was the son of Woden, who was the son of Frithewald, who was the son of Frealaf, who was the son of Frithevulf, who was the son of Fingoldvulf, who was the son of Geta. This Geta the pagans formerly worshipped as a god; of whom the poet Sedulius thus makes mention in the commencement of his paschal hymn:

> "With fictions false and vain
> The heathen poets, in high-sounding phrase,
> And pompous tragic strain,
> Their art of song employ in foolish Geta's praise," &c.

This Geta was the son of Ceatuua, who was the son of Beau, who was the son of Sceldwa, who was the son of Hermeod, who was the son of Itermod, who was the son of Hatra, who was the son of Wala, who was the son of Beaduing, who was the son of Sem, who was the son of Noe, who was the son of Lamech, who was the son of Matussalam, who was the son of Enoch, who was the son of Malaleel, who was the son of Cainan, who was the son of Enos, who was the son of Seth, who was the son of Adam. Also the mother of Elfred was called Osburh, a very religious woman, noble, both by disposition and descent. She was the daughter of Oslac, the famous cupbearer of king Athelvulf. This Oslac was a Goth by nation, for he was sprung from the Goths and Jutes, of the stock, namely, of Stuf and Withgar, two brothers, and also earls, who, having received the government of the Isle of Wight, from their uncle king Cerdic and his son Cinric their cousin, put to death at the place called Withgaraburh[1] [Carisbrook], the few Britons, inhabitants of that island, whom they could find in it. For the other inhabitants of that island had either been slain or banished, or had fled.

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[1] See Asser, p. 448; the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 855, and Florence of Worcester, A.D. 849. It may be sufficient to state, once for all, that as Simeon is under considerable obligations to Asser at this portion of his work, the narrative of that latter author should be compared with the narrative now printed.

A.D. 851. Karl, earl of Devon, encountered the pagans at the place called Wincanbeorh, and the Christians obtained the victory. The Danes also united in the isle called Sheppey, that is, The isle of sheep. In the same year a great host of pagans came, with three hundred and fifty ships, into the mouth of the river Thames, and pillaged Canterbury, that is, the city of the Kentish men, and put to flight, with his whole army, Berthulf, king of the Mercians, who had come out to battle against them. After this the Danes becoming bolder, their whole army was collected in Surrey. Information of this reaching Athelvulf, the warlike king of the Saxons, he also, and with him his son Ethelbald, assembled a large army at the place called Aclea, that is, The plain of the oak. And when the flower of the English nation appeared resplendent in clashing armour, there ensued a long engagement between the Angles and Danes; the Angles fighting the more bravely as they saw their king conduct himself so fiercely in war; and thus they proved superior to their enemies, and after a long and stout contest, in which both sides fought with courage and animosity, the greater part of the pagan multitude was utterly routed and cut to pieces, so that never in any country in one day, either before or since, had so many met their death. The Christians on that day obtained a noble victory, and were masters of the field of slaughter, rendering thanks to God in hymns and acknowledgments.

A.D. 852.[2] Berthulf, king of the Mercians, departed this life, whom Burhred succeeded in the kingdom. In that year king Ethelstane and earl Alchere met a great army of the pagans in Kent, at the place called Sandwich, which then, by the help of God, they almost totally destroyed, and took nine of their ships; the rest, struck with dread, took to flight.

A.D. 853, (the fifth[3] of the birth of Elfred,) Burhred, king of the Mercians, by ambassadors besought Athelvulf, king of the West Saxons, that he would grant him assistance by which he might bring under his power the Midland Britons, who dwell between Mercia and the West sea, who were violently opposing him. King Athelvulf, in receiving his embassy, quickly put his army in motion and marched into Britain [Wales] with king Burhred, and no sooner had he entered than, devastating that nation, he reduced it to the dominion of Burhred. This being accomplished, he returned home.

In the same year Athelvulf sent his aforesaid son Elfred (when he was five years old) to Rome, honourably attended by a great number both of nobles and persons of inferior rank. Whom the holy pope Leo [IV.] consecrating at the request of his father, anointed as king; and taking him to himself as the son of his adoption, confirmed him, and sent him back to his father with his blessing.

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[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 534 and 544.

[2] A.D. 853. Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester.

[3] See Asser, p. 445, note [1].

A.D. 854, (the sixth of the birth of king Elfred,) king Osbert reigning over the Northumbrians, Wlfere, having received his pall, was consecrated to the archbishopric of York, and Eardulf received the bishopric of Lindisfarne; to which belonged Lugubalia, that is, Luel, now called Carlisle, and Norham, anciently called Ubbanford. Also all the churches from the river Tweed to the South Tyne, and beyond the wild country to the west, at that time belonged to the aforesaid church; and these manors, Carham, and Culterham, and the two Jedburghs, which bishop Ecgred built on the south side of the Teviot; and Melrose, and Tigbrethingham, and Eoriercorn on the west side; Edinburgh, and Pefferham, and Aldham, and Tiningham, and Coldingham, and Tillmouth, and the aforesaid Norham. Warkworth also, with all its appurtenances, was the property of the said church by the gift of king Ceolwlf. For that king, on his renunciation of the world, bestowed that manor, with himself, on the church of Lindisfarne, in which, becoming a monk, he fought for a heavenly kingdom. His body, afterwards transferred to the church of the aforesaid vill of Norham, was there graced by many miracles, as is reported by the inhabitants of that place. Through the means of this king, when he became a monk, there was given to the monks of the church of Lindisfarne the privilege of drinking wine or ale; before that time they used to drink nothing but milk or water, according to the tradition which they had anciently received from St. Aidan, monk and first bishop of that church, coming with whom from Scotland they there received a place of residence, by the gift of king Oswald, and who, providing for a future life, took pleasure in living with great severity. Furthermore, the celebrated bishop Ecgred, having built a church at the place called Gainford, dedicated it to St. Cuthbert. He built also Billingham in Heorternysse, and two other vills, Ilecliff and Wilegeclife, in the south side of the river Tees, which he gave to St. Cuthbert, for the support of his servants. Also Wudecestre, and Hwittingeham, and Eadulfingaham [Edlingham], and Egwiluingeham [Eglingham], were formerly the property of St. Cuthbert, by the gift of king Ceolwlf.

In this year earl Ealchere, with the Kentish men, and duke Wada, with the men of Surrey, fought a hard battle against the pagans, in the Isle of Thanet. At the first encounter the Christians prevailed; but, after long-continued fighting, many on each side fell by the sword, some were drowned in the sea, and at length both chiefs perished.

In this year, Athelvulf, king of the West Saxons, gave his daughter in marriage to Burhred, king of the Mercians, in the royal vill called Chippenham, with profuse liberality of every kind.

A.D. 855. A large host of pagans took up their quarters for the whole winter in the isle of Sheppey, that is, The isle of sheep. In the same year king Athelvulf freed the tenth part of his kingdom from all royal service and tribute, and dedicated it by a perpetual deed of gift on the cross of Christ, to God, One and Three, for the salvation of his own soul and those of his predecessors; and so he went with great honour to Rome, taking also with him now his son

Elfred, whom he had before sent to Rome, and whom he loved more than the rest; and there he remained for a whole year: at the end of which he returned to his own country, bringing with him Judith, the daughter of Charles, king of the Franks. King Athelwulf then lived two years after he went to Rome. Amongst other good deeds which he performed, he enjoined three hundred mancuses of money to be sent yearly to Rome: one hundred in honour of St. Peter, for the purchase of oil to fill all the lamps of that church on Easter eve, and likewise at the cock-crow; one hundred also in honour of St. Paul the apostle, for the same purpose; and one hundred marks for the universal apostolic pope.

After his death and interment at Winchester,[1] his son Ethelbald governed the kingdom of the West Saxons after his father for two years and a half; who, contrary to the prohibition of Jesus Christ and the teaching of Christians, contrary also to the custom of all heathens, going up to the bed of his father, with great infamy, took in marriage Judith, the daughter of Charles, king of the Franks. At the same time the most holy and beloved of God, Eadmund, sprung from the race of the Old Saxons, a most sincere professor of the Christian faith, attained the dignity of the government of the province of East Anglia.

A.D. 860. King Ethelbald died and was buried in Sherborne, and his brother Ethelberht, as was right, annexed to his dominion Kent and Surrey, and also Sussex. In his days a great host of pagans, coming by sea, attacked and plundered the city of Winchester. As they were retreating to their vessels with great booty, they were opposed by Osric, earl of the men of Hampshire, with his followers, and earl Ethelwulf, with the men of Berkshire, and joining battle, the pagans were everywhere routed; and, being unable any longer to resist, they betook themselves to womanish flight, and the Christians were masters of the field of slaughter.

Ethelberht then, after having governed the kingdom for five years, peacefully, mildly and honourably, went the way of all flesh, to the great grief of his subjects, and rests honourably interred near his brother in Sherborne.

A.D. 863. St. Swithun, bishop of Winchester, in this year departed to the Lord.

A.D. 864. The pagans wintered in the Isle of Thanet, and made a sure league with the Kentish men, who promised to pay them a sum of money for the preservation of the treaty. In the mean while, however, the pagans, stealing out like foxes secretly by night from their camp, in violation of the treaty, and despising the promise of money, as knowing that they could obtain a greater sum by thievish robbery than by peace, devastated the whole east border of Kent.

A.D. 866. Ethered, brother of king Ethelbert, took the government of the kingdom of the West Saxons.

In the same year a great fleet of pagans, under the command of king Haldane, Inguar, and Hubba, came to Britain from the

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[1] See Asser, p. 448, note [1].

Danube,[1] and wintered in the kingdom of the East Angles, called in Saxon East Angle; and there that army became for the most part cavalry, riding and making excursions hither and thither, seizing enormous booty, and sparing neither men nor women, widows nor virgins.

[2] In these days Elfred, that is Clito, or the Atheling, began, by constant study, to be imbued with divine doctrines, who from his very cradle was loved by his father and mother with extraordinary affection beyond all his brothers. As he grew in stature to a boy's age, he appeared more graceful in person than the rest of his brothers, and was remarkable for the bright expression of his countenance, and the elegance of his speech. As the hart pants for the waterbrooks, so he longed that the depths of his heart and recesses of his mind should be penetrated and imbued with sound learning. But grievous to say, by the neglect of his parents and tutors, he remained illiterate till the twelfth year of his age. But this illustrious youth and future king endeavoured day and night to learn the Saxon poems; he was teachable, well practised in the art of the chase, and unequalled in skill of every kind. One day, as his excellent mother was showing him and his brothers a certain Saxon book of poetry, she said to them, "Whichever of you, my dearest sons, can soonest learn this volume, I will give it to him." He then, moved by a divine inspiration, and delighted with the beauty of the capital letter, replied to his mother, "Will you indeed give it?" She, smiling with gladness, assented, saying, "I will; I will indeed give it." He presently took the book from the hand of his mother, went to his tutor, showed him the book, and read under the preceptor's instruction. After no long interval, he came into the presence of his beloved mother, and repeated the book from memory. She gave great thanks to the Saviour's goodness, acknowledging that the grace of God was in the mind of the youth. After this, inflamed with the desire of divine love, he devoutly learnt very many Psalms, and the Daily Course, that is, the celebration of the hours, which, collected into one volume, he carried inseparably day and night in his bosom. O happy offspring of men! O sagacious king! you carry that which bears you up; you carry the keys of wisdom; you love wisdom and shall be wise, doing justice and judgment in the earth. O clerics, attend and behold the king carry the book in his bosom day and night; you neither know nor desire to know the law of God. The[3] same man, when he became king, especially bewailed for his son, that is his mind, that he had not been instructed in liberal arts.

A.D. 867. The aforesaid host of pagans marched from the East Angles to the city of York, which is situated on the north side of the river Humber, and devastated the whole country as far as Tynemouth.

At that time, by the instigation of the devil, a great feud had arisen among the Northumbrians, as is always wont to happen to a people who will incur God's anger. For the Northumbrians had at that time expelled from the kingdom their rightful king, Osbryth by name, and had set at the head of the government a certain tyrant, not born of the royal lineage, named Ella. But on the arrival of the pagans, that dissension was somewhat allayed by divine counsel and the union of the nobles for the common weal. Osbryth and Ella, joining their strength and assembling an army, marched to the town of York. Immediately on their approach, the pagans took to flight, and endeavoured to defend themselves within the walls of the city. The Christians, perceiving their flight and dread, resolved to follow them within the fortifications of the city, and to effect a breach in the wall; and this they also did; for at that time the city had not strong and secure walls. When the Christians had broken down the wall, as they proposed, and a great part of them had entered the city at the same time as the pagans, the latter, urged by distress and necessity, made a fierce assault upon them, beat, scattered and overthrew them within and without. This took place on the twelfth of the kalends of April [21st March], being the Friday before Palm Sunday.[1] There nearly all the Northumbrians were routed and destroyed, the two kings being slain; the survivors made peace with the pagans. [2]After these events the aforesaid pagans appointed Egbert king under their own dominion; Egbert reigned for six years after, over the Northumbrians beyond the Tyne.

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[1] See Asser, p. 449, note [4]. [2] Compare Asser, p. 450. [3] See p. 469, note [1].

In the same year, Ealhstan, bishop of the church of Sherborne, died, and was buried in Sherborne.

A.D. 868. A comet was very plainly seen this year. The worshipful king Elfred, then holding the rank of second personage in the realm, wooed and obtained in marriage a wife from Mercia, noble in descent, to wit the daughter of Athelred, earl of the Gaini,[3] who was surnamed Mucil. The mother of this lady was called Eadburg, of the royal line of the Mercian kings; a woman indeed much to be honoured, and who remained a most chaste widow till her death, many years after the death of her husband.

In the same year the aforesaid host of pagans, quitting the Northumbrians, came into Mercia, and entered Nottingham, which in British is rendered Tigguocabauc,[4] but in Latin Speluncarum Domus, The house of caves; and in that place they wintered the same year. When they arrived there, immediately Burhred, king of the Mercians, and all the nobles of that nation, sent messengers to Ethered, king of the West Saxons, and his brother Elfred, humbly beseeching them to grant them assistance, in order that they might wage war against the aforesaid host. This they easily obtained, for these brothers, not behind their promise, gathering an army from every part of their territory, entered Mercia, and marched at once to Nottingham, with one mind desiring battle. And when the pagans, defended by the protection of the castle, refused to give battle, and the Christians were unable to break down the wall, peace being made between the Mercians and the pagans, these two brothers, king Elthered and Elfred, returned home with their troops.

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[1] This date does not occur in Asser, the Saxon Chronicle, or Florence.

[2] An addition to Asser.

[3] See Asser, p. 451, note [5].

[4] See this volume, p. 470, note [1].

A.D. 869. The aforesaid host of pagans again riding to the Northumbrians, entered the city of York, and there remained a whole year.

A.D. 870. The above-named host of pagans passed through Mercia to the East Angles, and took winter quarters in the place called Thetford. In the same year the most holy Eadmund, king of the East Angles, was martyred, as we read in his Passion,[1] by the most heathen king Inguar, on Sunday[2] the twelfth of the kalends of December [20th Nov.], in the second indiction. With him bishop Humbert[3] also was slain. In this year, likewise, Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, died; to whom succeeded Ethered.

A.D. 871. The host of pagans of detested memory, leaving the East Angles, and entering the kingdom of the West Saxons, came to the royal vill called Reading, situated on the south bank of the river Thames, in that district called Berkshire. On the third day after their arrival, two of their earls, with a large portion of their army, rode out to plunder, while the rest were constructing a wall between the two rivers, Thames and Kennet, on the right side of that royal vill. Athelwulf, earl of the district of Berkshire, encountered them in the place called in English, Englafield, the Plain of the Angles. There a severe engagement took place, which was long and sharply contested on both sides; at last one of the earls of the pagans was slain, and the greater part of the army routed, the rest escaping by flight; and thus the Christians obtaining the victory, were masters of the field of slaughter.

Four days after these events occurred, king Ethered and his brother Elfred, uniting their strength, assembled an army and marched upon Reading. And when they had come to the very gate of the citadel, slaying and overthrowing all of the pagans whom they encountered outside the fortress, the pagans with no less energy fought like wolves; and sallying from all the gates, they threw their whole force into the battle, and then both parties fought long and fiercely on both sides. But, lamentable to state! the Christians at length turning their backs, the pagans obtained the victory, and remained masters of the field of slaughter. And there, amongst others, fell the aforesaid earl Ethelwulf.

The Christians, stirred by this grief and shame, again, after four days, go out with all their forces and with eager desire to battle against the aforesaid army, at the place called Escendun,[4] which means, The hill of the ash. But the pagans, dividing into two bands of uniform strength, make themselves ready for battle. For they had their two kings and many earls; assigning one half the army to the two kings, the other to all the earls. The Christians, observing this, also divided their army into two bands, and formed their defence with no less activity; but Elfred, with his men, came more quickly and promptly to the field of battle. For indeed his brother, king Ethered, was then in his tent engaged in prayer, hearing mass, and vowing that he would not stir before the priest had finished mass, for that he would not leave the service of God for that of man. And so he did. And this trust of the Christian king was of much avail before God, as will be more clearly shown in the result. The Christians then decided that king Ethered, with his forces, should meet the attack of the two pagan kings; and his brother Elfred was informed, that with his troops he must try the fortune of war against all the dukes of the pagans. These arrangements having been made on both sides—since the king delayed very long in prayer, and the pagans, fully prepared, were coming up with great speed to the field of battle,—Elfred, then second in rank, no longer able to endure the hostile array without either retreating from the engagement, or throwing himself into the battle against the enemy's forces before the arrival of his brother, at last, although the king had not come, boldly, like a wild boar, forming the Christian forces against the enemy's army as before settled, relying on the divine counsel and supported by his aid, quickly advanced his banners against the enemy, a defence of shields being constructed in good order. At length, the prayers in which he was engaged being ended, king Ethered arrived, and, having invoked the great Ruler of the world, speedily applied himself to the fight. But here it must be notified to the uninformed, that the field of battle was not equally advantageous for the contending parties: for the pagans had pre-occupied the higher position; the Christians formed their line on the lower ground. There was also in the same place one thorn-tree of no great size, around which the opposing forces met in conflict, with loud cries on both sides,—the one were the workers of wickedness, the other were fighting for life, and friends, and country. After a contest carried on for a considerable time with animosity and much fierceness, the pagans, by the judgment of God, being no longer able to resist the attack of the Christians, the greater part of their men having fallen, betook themselves to a shameful flight. In this place one of the two kings of the pagans, and five earls, fell dead; and many thousands of them in the same place, and moreover, over the whole breadth of the plain of Ashendon, being everywhere scattered and routed, perished.

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[1] A reference, apparently, to the legend by Abbo.

[2] This date, added to Asser, is incorrect; the twentieth of November fell upon Monday, and the year 870 was the third of the indiction.

[3] Bishop of Dunwich, or Elmham. See Hardy's Le Neve, ii. 457.

[4] See Asser, p. 458, note [1].

There died king Bagseg, earl Sidroc the elder, earl Sidroc the younger, earl Osbern, earl Freana, earl Harold; and the whole army of the pagans fled until night, and even till the following day, until those who escaped reached the fortress.

Again, fourteen days after this action, king Ethered, together with his brother Alfred, uniting their forces, marched against the pagans at Basing. An engagement ensued, which lasted a long time, when the pagans obtained the victory.

Again,[1] after the lapse of two months, king Ethered and his brother Elfred, encountering the pagans who had divided themselves into two bodies, were for a long time victorious, forcing their adversaries to retreat. But they rallying again, many fell on both sides, and the pagans gaining the victory, remained masters of the field of slaughter.

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[1] Compare Asser, p. 454.

In the same year, after Easter [15th April], king Ethered, having for five years, amidst many tribulations, governed the kingdom energetically and honourably with good fame, went the way of all flesh.[1] At his death his brother Elfred began to reign.

A.D. 871. This most skilled of the Saxon poets, and most zealous in the service of God, became also a most discerning inquirer in the administration of justice. To him his queen Elfswitha bore two sons, Eadward and Egelward, and three daughters, Eglefleda, the lady of the Mercians, Ethelgeova, a nun, and Ethelthritha.

One month after the commencement of his reign, he, with a few men, fought bravely against the pagans at the hill called Wilton; but, sad to say, the enemy obtained the victory. And no wonder; for the Christians had but a small number in the battle. For they had been worn out by eight battles in one year against the pagans, in which one king of the pagans and nine chiefs, with innumerable troops, were slain.

A.D. 872. Alchun, bishop of the Wiccii, dying, Werefrith,[2] brought up at the holy church of Worcester, a man very learned in holy Scripture, was consecrated bishop on Whitsunday,[3] the seventh of the ides of June [7th June], by Athered, archbishop of Canterbury. He, by the command of king Elfred, translated the books of Dialogues of the blessed pope Gregory, from the Latin into the Saxon tongue.

The Northumbrians expelled their king Egbert, and their archbishop Wlfere. The aforesaid host of pagans went to London and wintered there; the Mercians made peace with them.

A.D. 873. The oft-named army, quitting London, marched first to the country of the Northumbrians, and there wintered at Torksey, in the district called Lindsey; the Mercians again made peace with them.

Egbert, king of the Northumbrians, dying, Ricsig became his successor, and reigned three years; Wlfere was restored to his archbishopric.

A.D. 874. The above-named host, quitting Lindsey, entered Mercia, and wintered at the place called Repton. Burhtred, king of the Mercians, having been expelled by them in the twenty-second year of his reign, went to Rome, and there died, and was buried in the church of St. Mary, in the school of the Saxons.

A.D. 875. The above-named host, leaving Repton, formed two divisions; one of which, under Halfdene, marching into the country of the Northumbrians, brought the whole region of the Northumbrians under their dominion, and destroyed all the monasteries.

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[1] On the twenty-fourth of April.

[2] See Asser, p. 465, note [1].

[3] This date, copied by Simeon from Florence of Worcester (p. 220), fixes the consecration of Werefrith as having occurred in 873, and not in 872, as these writers supposed.

Eardulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, and abbot Eadred, taking the body of St. Cuthbert from the island of Lindisfarne, wandered about for seven years.

The other division of the host, under the three kings, Guthrum, Oskitel, and Amund, wintered at Cambridge.

King Elfred, equipped for naval warfare, encountered six ships on the sea, bravely engaging with which he took one; the rest, seized with alarm, fled.

A.D. 876. The pagan king Halfdene divided between himself and his followers the country of the Northumbrians. Ricsig, king of the Northumbrians, died, and Egbert the second reigned over the Northumbrians beyond the river Tyne.

Rollo, first duke of the Normans, also called Rodbert, with his men, invaded Normandy on the fifteenth of the kalends of December [17th Nov.].

The aforesaid host of pagans, leaving Cambridge by night, seized the castle of Wareham. Of whose sudden coming the king of the Saxons being informed, he made a treaty with them, on condition of their quitting his kingdom, receiving hostages from them. But they, in their usual manner, caring for neither oaths nor hostages, one night, in violation of the treaty, made a march upon Exeter, which in British is called Cairwisc, in Latin, Civitas Aquæ, The city of water.

A.D. 877.[1] That infamous host left Exeter, went to the royal vill of Chippenham, and there wintered. At this period, king Elfred endured great distresses and led a harassed life. At length, encouraged by St. Cuthbert in an obvious revelation, he gave battle to the Danes, and at the very place and time which the saint had ordered; he obtained the victory; and ever after that was to his enemies terrible and invincible, and held St. Cuthbert in especial honour. How he overcame his enemies soon after is here recorded.

Further, in the same year, kings Inguar and Haldene, with twenty-three ships, rushing with the fierceness of wolves from the Demetic territory, in which they had wintered, after perpetrating great slaughter of Christians and burning of monasteries, sailed to Devonshire, and there were slain with twelve hundred men by the brave ministers of king Elfred before the castle of Cymwith, for very many of the king's servants had shut themselves up in that castle for protection. And king Elfred, trusting in the Lord God, attended by a few troops, made a fortress at the place called Athelney, occupying which with his soldiers he frequently and indefatigably harassed the enemy from the fortress. This he did at the time of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ [7th April]; and seven weeks and one day (that is, fifty days) after, he came to Egbert's stone, in the east part of the forest called in the English language Mucel Wudu, in Latin, Magna Silva, The great wood, and in British, Coitmapur. There all the inhabitants of Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, met their much-loved king; and at the sight of him rejoiced with great exultation of heart, as if they had received one raised from the dead. The third day after, he came with an immense army to the place called Edderandun,[1] near which he found enormous battalions of pagans, arrayed for battle in a dense mass. Both nations engaged in combat for a great part of the day, their shouts and clashing of arms being heard to a great distance. At last king Elfred, by the help of God, obtained the victory, bravely overthrowing his enemies, and rendering thanks to the most high Saviour with joyfulness of heart. And while there, the king with his people rejoiced; and those of the enemy who survived wept with great lamentations, on account of the severity of cold and hunger, and their dread of so powerful a monarch; they beg the favour of peace who were always opposed to it, and offer hostages and oaths. The king, inwardly moved with pity, giving ear to their request, granted all they begged for.

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[1] Compare Asser, A.D. 878, p. 457.

A.D. 878.[2] Guthrum, king of the pagans, with thirty of the most select men of his army, came to king Elfred, at the place called Aarl [Aller]; the king, receiving him as the son of his adoption, caused him to be cleansed in the font of holy baptism, and enriched him with many gifts; and after the murder of St. Eadmund, gave him East Anglia.

A.D. 879. The oft-named host of pagans departing, as they had promised, from Cirencester, went to the East Angles, and dividing that country, began to take up their residence in it. In that year also, there came an immense army of pagans from foreign regions into the river Thames, who, forming a junction with the aforesaid body, became banded together, as is the manner of the wicked. An eclipse of the sun took place in the same year, between the ninth hour and the evening. The aforesaid host of pagans also went this year into foreign countries, and remained one year at Ghent.

A.D. 881. The host of pagans invading France engaged in fight with the natives; after which battle, seizing horses wherever they could, they rode here and there, laying all things waste; this must appear wonderful, that these unskilled enemies should dare to make an attack upon so brave and warlike a people. The bold Franks, forming a prudent plan, fought a hard battle with the pagans, and were the conquerors. At the end of the engagement the Franks returned in triumph; the pagans rode in all directions on the horses which they had obtained. In those days very many monasteries in that nation were sacked and desolated; insomuch that the brethren of the monastery of St. Benedict, which is called Floriacum, taking with them his relics from the tomb where they had been laid with great splendour, wandered hither and thither.

A.D. 882. The aforesaid army was transported into the further part of France in vessels up the river Maese, and there wintered one year.

In the same year, king Elfred, engaging in a sea fight with the ships of the pagans, conquered and took two, the whole of their crews being slain. After this, also, he severely wounded the captains of two vessels, until throwing down their arms, they gave themselves up to him with suppliant entreaty.

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[1] See Asser, p. 459, note [6].

[2] In Asser (p. 460), this forms a portion of the incidents of the previous year.

A.D. 883. The aforesaid army of pagans, seizing Condé, ravaged there for a year.

The army which, under the command of king Halfdene, had invaded Northumbria, the tyrant perishing by the judgment of God, remained without a leader; Halfdene himself being destroyed, as above stated, together with Inguar, with twenty-three ships, by the ministers of king Elfred in Devonshire. Having already subdued the natives of the country, he usurped the government, and prepared to inhabit the devastated provinces of Northumbria. Then St. Cuthbert, aiding by a vision, ordered abbot Eadred (who because he lived in Luel was surnamed Lulisc) to tell the bishop and the whole army of Angles and Danes, that by paying a ransom, they should redeem Guthred, the son of Hardicnut, whom the Danes had sold as a slave to a certain widow at Whittingham, and should raise him, then redeemed, to be king; and he reigned over York, but Egbert over the Northumbrians. This took place in the thirteenth year of the reign of king Elfred. Guthred, therefore, being by consent of all from a slave promoted to be king, the episcopal see, which was formerly in the island of Lindisfarne, was restored in Chester,[1] anciently called Cunecester, seven years after its removal from the island of Lindisfarne. This is a place between Durham and Hexham, six miles distant from Durham. There also king Guthred, as well as king Elfred, established, to be for ever preserved, the right of sanctuary which St. Cuthbert had enjoined by the aforesaid abbot; namely, that whosoever took refuge at his body should have sanctuary, to be infringed by no one for thirty-seven days. And if any one in any way violated this privilege, they decreed that he be fined ninety-six pounds, as if he had broken the king's peace. Besides this, in augmentation of the former bishopric, the two kings aforesaid, with the consent of all, added the whole land between the Tyne and the Tees, as a perpetual possession of St. Cuthbert. They delivered over, by a perpetual anathema, to the pains of hell, whosoever should attempt by any device to infringe these statutes. Long before this the bishopric of the church of Hexham had ceased to exist.

A.D. 884. Pope Marinus, out of affection for king Elfred, and at his request, graciously freed the school of the Saxons living in Rome from all tribute and custom, and also sent many presents to the aforesaid king. Among which he gave him a considerable portion of that holy cross on which our Lord Jesus Christ hung for the salvation of mankind. Also, at that time, this most holy prelate went the way of all flesh, resigning his spirit to God who gave it.

The aforesaid army of pagans, going up the river Somme to Amiens, there continued for a year.

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[1] That is, Chester-le-street.

In the time of this king Alfred there came to England Johannes[1] Scotus, a man of clear intellect and much eloquence, who, leaving his country some time before, had gone over to France to Charles the Bald. By him he was received with great respect, and was admitted to close intimacy. He took part with him in matters both of business and amusement, and was his inseparable companion both at table and in his retirement. He was a man of much pleasantry and ready wit, examples of which are still on record; as, for instance, as he was sitting at dinner one day, at the other side of the table opposite the king, after the cups had gone round and the dishes had been removed, after some other matters, Charles with a gay face, having seen that John had done something which might offend Gallic politeness, chid him in a pleasant manner, and said, "What difference is there between a sot and a Scot?" He cleverly returned the joke upon its author, and replied, "Only this table." What can be more facetious than this reply? The king's question referred to the difference of manners, John's answer referred to the difference of place. Nor was the king offended, because he was delighted with his marvellous learning; nor would he for the jest be angry at the master, as he commonly called him. On another occasion, when a servant had handed to the king at table a dish which contained two very large fishes and one much smaller, he gave it to that master that he might share it with two clerics seated beside him. They were of gigantic stature, and he very small in person. He then, who was always devising something amusing to excite the mirth of the company, keeping the two large fishes for himself, gave the small one to the other two. When the king charged him with the unfairness of the division—"Nay," said he, "I have done well and fairly; for here is one small one," speaking of himself, "and two large ones," pointing to the fishes; "and there also are two great ones," meaning the clerics, "and one small one," pointing to the fish.

At the request of Charles, he translated the Hierarchia of Dionysius the Areopagite, from Greek into Latin, word for word; in consequence of which it comes to pass, that the Latin version can hardly be understood, since the Greek style is more fluent than ours. He also composed a book which he entitled, *Περὶ φύσεων μερισμοῦ*, "Concerning the Division of Nature," very useful for solving the difficulty of certain questions, if only allowance may be made for him in certain points, where, by a rigid following of the Greeks, he has deviated from the track of the Latins. On which account he has been considered heretical by some, and one Florus[2] wrote against him: for there are indeed in his book, *Περὶ φύσεων*, very many things which, if they be not carefully digested, may appear repugnant[1] to the catholic faith. Pope[2] Nicholas is known to have shared in this opinion, for in an epistle to Charles he says, "It has been reported to our apostleship that one of your friends, John, a Scot by birth, has lately translated into Latin a work of the blessed Dionysius the Areopagite, which he wrote in the Greek tongue, concerning the divine ranks or celestial orders, which, according to custom, ought to be sent to us, and presented for our judgment, especially as the said John, though declared to be a man of much learning, is marked by common report as formerly thinking unsoundly on some points." On account of this ill report, he grew tired of France and came to king Elfred, allured by his munificence; and by his appointment, as is plain from the king's writings, he settled at Malmesbury. There, after many years, he lost his life, in severe and painful torture, pierced by the iron pens of the youths whom he taught; so that he suffered a cruel death: for a weak hand, urged by strong wickedness, often failed, and again as often renewed the attack. For some time he lay in an unhonoured tomb in the church of St. Lawrence, which had been the scene of his heinous murder; but when the divine favour for many nights shed over him a light of fire, the monks, thus admonished, translated him into the greater church, and placed him on the left side of the altar.

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[1] See Asser, p. 466; William of Malmesbury's History of the Kings, p. 122. The question of the identity of this Johannes Scotus with John the Martyr of Malmesbury, is discussed at some length by M. Arnaud in his "Perpétuité de la Foi touchant l'Eucharistie," iv. 177, ed. 1704.

[2] This treatise of Florus Lugdunensis is printed by Mauguin, in his collection of treatises respecting Predestination and Grace, i. 575, ed. Paris, 1650.

A.D. 885. The aforesaid host formed itself into two divisions, one of which went to the east of France; the other, going back into Kent, laid siege to the city of Rochester. But the citizens bravely resisted them, until king Elfred, coming upon them with a strong force, drove those pagans from the siege to their vessels; and in the summer of the same year they returned to France. In this year, a fleet, sent by king Elfred to the defence of the places about East Anglia, having captured sixteen vessels of pirates at the mouth of the river Stour, put them all to death; but as they were returning home, the barbarian host brought to oppose them an infinite number of ships, with which, after a long engagement, the Danes became victorious.

In this year Carloman, king of the Alemanni, the West Franks, by a singular accident in hunting, was killed by a boar rending him with its tusk. His brother Louis, also king of the Franks, had died the preceding year. They were both sons of Louis, king of the Franks, who died in the afore-named year in which the eclipse of the sun occurred. Also he was the son of Charles the Bald, king of the Franks, whose daughter Judith, Ethelwlf, king of the West Saxons, took as his queen.

In this year a large army of pagans from Germany was conveyed in ships into the country of the Old Saxons; against whom the Saxons and Frieslanders, uniting their strength, fought two battles in one year and obtained the victory. In this year, with the free consent of all, Charles, king of the Alemanni, took, besides the kingdom of Brittany, the kingdom of the West Franks, and all the kingdoms which are between the Tuscan sea and the arm of the sea which divides the Old Saxons and Gauls. This Charles was the son of Louis; Louis was the brother of Charles, king of the Franks, the father of the aforesaid Judith; and these two brothers were the sons of Louis. And this Louis was the son of the famous and most wise Charlemagne, who was the son of king Pepin.

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[1] On the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of Johannes Scotus, see a dissertation by Oudin, ii. 245.

[2] This letter occurs in Labb. Concil. viii. 516, "De Joanne Scotto, quod in quibusdam bene non senserit."

A.D. 886. Pope Marinus[1] died. [2]The oft-named army which had before retired to the East Franks, returning again to the West Franks, went up to Paris by the river Seine, where beleaguering the city for a year, and the citizens bravely resisting, they could not make a breach in the fortifications.

King Elfred nobly rebuilt and made habitable the city of London, after many fires and slaughters of the people, and committed it to the care of Ethered, earl of the Mercians. All the Angles and Saxons, who before had been everywhere scattered, or had been with the pagans without being captives, came to the king and freely surrendered themselves to his dominion.

A.D. 887. The aforesaid host, quitting Paris, on which they could make no impression, took their fleet up the Seine, to the place called Chezy, where they remained a year; and in the following year, entering the mouth of the river Yonne, they spent a year there, to the great injury of the country. In this year Charles, king of the Franks, died; six weeks after he had been driven from the kingdom by Earnulf, his brother's son. At his death the kingdom was divided into five, but the chief part came to Earnulf, to whom the four others, of their own accord, swore fealty and yielded submission, because none of the others could claim to be legitimate heir of that kingdom by paternal descent, except Earnulf alone; for the government rested with him. And this was the division of the kingdom:—Earnulf obtained the countries east of the river Rhine; Hrodulf, the midland kingdom; Odo the west; Beorngar and Wido had Lombardy, and all the countries on that side of the mountain. But these kingdoms, thus divided among themselves, were shaken by great wars with each other; the kings expelling one another from the realm. In this year Ethelhelm, earl of the Wiltshire men, carried to Rome the alms of king Elfred.[3]

A.D. 888. Among the many other good deeds which king Elfred performed, he founded two noble monasteries, one of monks, in the place called Athelney, that is, The isle of nobles, where monks of different nations being brought together, he appointed as the first abbot John, priest and monk, of the race of the Old Saxons. The same king also ordered to be built another monastery, near the east gate of Shaftesbury, fit for the habitation of nuns, in which he placed as abbess his own daughter, Ethelgeofa, a virgin dedicated to God, which two monasteries he munificently enriched with possession of lands and all abundance.

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[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 885. Marinus died A.D. 884, probably in the month of May. See Jaffé, p. 298.

[2] Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 886.

[3] Here Asser ceasing to use the Saxon Chronicle, the similarity between that latter authority and Simeon likewise is interrupted.

A.D. 889. Ethered, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and Plegmund succeeded him.

A.D. 891. King Guthrum, to whom king Elfred, as we before[1] said, receiving from the holy font, gave the name of Healstan, died this year. He dwelt with his followers in East Anglia; and first inhabited and possessed that province after the martyrdom of St. Eadmund the king.

A.D. 892. Wulfere, archbishop of York, died, in the thirty-ninth year of his episcopate.

A.D. 893. The pagan king Hesten, entering the mouth of the river Thames with eighty galleys, built himself a fortress in the royal vill called Mideltun.

A.D. 894. Guthred, king of the Northumbrians, died. The pagans who dwelt in Northumbria established a peace with king Elfred by oaths.

A.D. 895. The pagans again towed their vessels up the river Thames, and thence up the river Lee, and began to build themselves a fort near that river, twenty miles from London.

A.D. 896. In the summer time, a great part of the citizens of London, and as many as possible from the neighbouring places, endeavoured to destroy the fort which the pagans had built for themselves; but they boldly resisting, the Christians were put to flight, and four of the ministers of king Elfred were killed.

A.D. 897. The host of pagans dwelling in East Anglia and Northumbria heavily oppressed the country of the West Saxons, robbing and plundering on the sea coast, chiefly in long and swift vessels, which they had built many years before. To oppose these, vessels were built by command of king Elfred, twice as long, higher, swifter, and less unsteady, by the force of which the said vessels of the enemy might be overcome; which being launched, the king ordered that they should take alive those whom they could, and put to death those whom they could not take. Thus it came to pass, that in that year twenty ships of Danish pirates were captured, of whom some were slain, some brought alive to the king and hung on the gallows.

A.D. 898. Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, with his army, laid siege to the city of Chartres; but Walteline,[2] bishop of that city, calling to his aid Richard, duke of Burgundy, and Ebalus, earl of Poitou, carrying in their hands the tunic of St. Mary, by the divine favour, put Rollo to flight, and delivered the city.

A.D. 899. Elfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, son of the most pious king Athelwulf, after reigning twenty-nine years and six months, died in the fourth indiction, on the fifth of the kalends of November [27th Oct.]; and was buried in the new monastery of Winchester. To him succeeded his son Edward, surnamed the Elder, inferior in polite learning, but in dignity, in power as well as glory, superior. For, as will appear afterwards, he extended the boundaries of his father's kingdom. He built many cities and towns, and rebuilt some which had been destroyed. The whole of East Saxony, East

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[1] A.D. 878.

[2] See this incident illustrated in the Gallia Christiana, viii. 1108.

Anglia, Northumbria, and many provinces of Mercia, which the Danes had possessed for a long time, he wrested from their hands. The whole of Mercia he obtained and held after the death of his sister Egelfleda. He received into submission all the kings of the Scots, the Cumbrians, the Strathclyde and Western Britons. Very many kings and dukes were overcome by him in battle and slain. Of a most noble woman, Egcuuinna, he had his first-born son Ethelstan; and of his queen Edgiva he had three sons, Edwin, Eadmund and Edred, and a daughter Eadburga, a virgin dedicated to God; and three daughters besides, of whom one became the wife of Otto, eighty-ninth emperor of the Romans; another married Charles, king of the West Franks, whose aunt Judith, the daughter of the emperor Charles, Ethelwlf, king of the West Saxons, married; and his third daughter, Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, took to wife.

In this[1] year died Eardulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, to whom Tuthred[2] succeeded. Likewise Osbrit was expelled from his kingdom.

A.D. 900. Ethelbald was consecrated archbishop of York.

A. D. 903. The most valiant duke Athulf, brother of queen Ealhswitha, the mother of king Edward, and the venerable abbot Virgilius, of Scotland, died. Also the holy priest Grimbold, a man of great sanctity, and one of king Elfred's teachers, ascended to the joys of the heavenly kingdom.

A. D. 904. The Kentish men fought with a multitude of Danish pirates, at the place called Holme, and were victorious.

A. D. 905. The religious servant of Christ, queen Elswitha, mother of king Edward, departed this life; she founded a monastery of nuns at Winchester.

A. D. 906. The host of pagans of East Anglia and Northumbria, perceiving that king Eadward was invincible, made peace with him at the place which is called in the language of the Angles, Ytingaford. In the same year died Rollo, also called Robert, first duke of the Normans; to whom succeeded his son William, called Longsword.

A. D. 908. The city called in British Kairleir, and in Saxon Legacester [Chester], was rebuilt by order of duke Ethered and Egelfleda.

A. D. 910. The bones of St. Oswald, king and martyr, were translated from Bardonig into Mercia. The indomitable king Eadward, because the Danes had broken the contract which they had made with him, sent an army of West Saxons and Mercians into Northumbria; who, when they came there, devastating the country without ceasing for about forty days, slew many of the Danes, and compelled their kings and dukes to renew with king Eadward the peace which they had broken.

A. D. 911. A famous battle was fought in the district of Stafford, at the place called Teotenhale, between the Angles and the Danes, where the Angles obtained the victory.

A. D. 912. Ethered, a man of renowned virtue, duke and patrician, lord and under-king of the Mercians, departed from this life after various good deeds which he had performed. After his decease, his wife, Egelfleda, daughter of king Elfred, held the kingdom of the Mercians, (except London and Oxford, which her brother, king Edward, retained for himself,) very ably for no short time, namely, for eight years.

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[1] See Florence of Worcester, A. D. 900, p. 233.

[2] Read "Cutheard."

A.D. 913. On the second nones of May [6th May], Egelfleda, lady of the Mercians, came with an army to the place called Sceargete, and there built a fortified castle; after that she built another, on the west side of the river Severn, at the place called Brige [Bridgenorth].

A.D. 914. In the beginning of the year, Egelfleda, lady of the Mercians, went with the men of Mercia to Tomwirthig [Tamworth], and rebuilt that town. Thence she went to Stafford, and built a castle on the south side of the river Stowe.

A.D. 915. Werferth, bishop of the Hwiccians, a man of great sanctity and learning, dying, Ethelhun succeeded him. Egelfleda, lady of the Mercians, built the town called Eadesbirig, and in the end of autumn another called Warwick.

A.D. 916. The most invincible king Eadward, before the feast of St. Martin [11th Nov.], went to Bedford, and received it with its inhabitants into subjection, and remaining there for thirty days, ordered a town to be built on the south side of the river Ouse.

A.D. 917. Egelfleda, lady of the Mercians, sent an army into the land of the Britons, to storm the citadel at Brycenanmere. Having taken the citadel, they carried off the wife of the king of the Britons with thirty-four men prisoners into Mercia.

A.D. 918. Egelfleda, lady of the Mercians, before the kalends of August [1st Aug.], took Derby by storm, and obtained that province. Four of her favourite ministers fell, bravely fighting in the gate of the city.

A.D. 919. Egelfleda, lady of the Mercians, a woman of extraordinary talent, skill, and exalted justice and virtue, in the eighth year in which she, with a vigorous and upright rule, held the sole government of the Mercians, died on the nineteenth of the kalends of July [13th June]; and left as heir of the kingdom her only daughter Elwinna, her issue by the under-king Ethered. Her body was brought to Gloucester, and honourably interred in the church of St. Peter.

A.D. 920. King Eadward sent an army of Mercians into the country of the Northumbrians to rebuild Mammecester [Manchester], and place in it a strong garrison. After this, he totally deprived his niece Elwinna of the government of the kingdom of the Mercians, and ordered her to be led into West Saxony. In the same year Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, slew his brother Niel, and stormed Devennport.

A.D. 921. The king of the Scots, with all his nation; and Regnald, king of the Danes, with the Angles and Danes dwelling in Northumbria; also the king of the Strathclyde Britons, with his people; chose king Eadward the elder as their father and lord, and concluded a firm le

A.D. 922. Ethelward the Atheling, brother of king Eadward, dying on the seventeenth of the kalends of November [16th Oct.], was taken to Winchester and buried. Athelhun, bishop of the Hwiccians, died, and was succeeded by Wilferth.

A.D. 924. The unsurpassed king of the Angles, Eadward the Elder, who most gloriously presided over all the nations inhabiting Britain—Angles, Scots, Cumbrians, Danes, as well as Britons—after many illustrious deeds, departed this life in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, in the fifteenth indiction, at the royal vill called Fearndun, and left the reins of government to his son Ethelstan. His body, being brought to Winchester, was buried in royal style in the new monastery. Ethelstan was made king at Kingston, and consecrated with great pomp by the archbishop of Canterbury. In his time, the illustrious youth Dunstan was born, in the territory of Wessex.

A.D. 925. The able and glorious king of the Angles, Ethelstan, gave his sister in marriage, with great honour and dignity, to Sithric, king of the Northumbrians, born of the Danish race. In the same year Wigred[1] was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne.

A.D. 926. Sithric, king of the Northumbrians, departed this life; whose kingdom king Ethelstan added to his own dominion, driving out his son Guthferth, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom. He likewise conquered in battle, and put to flight, all the kings of the whole of Albion, namely, Huval, king of the West Britons, then Constantine, king of the Scots, and Wuer, king of the Wenti. All these, seeing they could not resist his might, begging from him peace, met him at the place called Eamotun, on the fourth of the ides of July [12th July], and made with him a treaty, which they confirmed with an oath.

A.D. 929. Kinewold succeeded Wilferth, the deceased bishop of the Hwiccians.

A.D. 932. Frithestan, bishop of Winchester, a man of exemplary piety, retired to Winchester, Brinstan, a religious man, being consecrated in his stead.

A.D. 933. Saint Frithestan died. King Ethelstan ordered his brother Edwin[2] to be drowned in the sea.

A.D. 934. Ethelstan, the valiant king of the Angles,—because Constantine, king of the Scots, had broken the league which he had made with him,—set out for Scotland with a strong naval force and no small army of cavalry. But, in the first place, going to the tomb of St. Cuthbert, and honouring him with a royal donation of lands and other property, he ravaged Scotland with his land force as far as Dunfoeder and Wertermore, and with his navy as far as Caithness, and in a great measure depopulated it. In consequence, king Constantine was compelled to give him his son as a hostage, with suitable offerings; and the peace being renewed, the king returned to Wessex. In this year died St. Brynstan.

A.D. 935. Elfege, surnamed the Bald, a religious monk, a relation of the blessed Dunstan, received the episcopate of the church of Winchester.

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[1] This date is apparently erroneous. See Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 279.

[2] See William of Malmesbury's account of this transaction, in his History of the Kings, § 139.

A.D. 937. Anlaf the pagan, king of the Irishmen and of many of the islands, stirred up by his father-in-law Constantine, king of the Scots, entered the mouth of the river Humber with a powerful fleet. King Ethelstan and his brother Eadmund Atheling encountered them with an army in the place called Brunanburgh, and in a battle, lasting from morning till evening, they slew five kings and seven dukes, whom their adversaries had brought as auxiliaries, and shed more blood than had been shed up to that time in any war in England; and having compelled the kings Anlaf and Constantine to fly to their vessels, they returned with much joy; but the enemy, suffering the greatest distress, on account of the loss of their army, returned to their own country with a few followers.

A.D. 940. Ethelstan, the valiant and glorious king of the Angles, departed this life at Gloucester, in the sixteenth year of his reign, on Wednesday, the sixth of the kalends of November [27th Oct.], and being carried to the city of Malmesbury, was there honourably interred. His brother Eadmund succeeded him in the kingdom, in the eighteenth year of his age.

A.D. 941. The Northumbrians, preferring disloyalty to the fealty which they owed to Eadmund, the magnificent king of the Angles, chose Anlaf, king of the Norsemen, for their king. In the same year Richard the elder took the earldom of Normandy, and held it fifty-two years. He was the son of earl William, whose father was Rollo first duke of the Normans. Bishop Wigred[1] died, and Getred succeeded him.

A.D. 942. Eadmund, the magnificent king of the Angles, wrested entirely out of the hands of the Danes five cities, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford, and reduced the whole of Mercia into his power. He attained his power through the servant of God Dunstan, by whose counsels he was rendered glorious; by him Dunstan, exalted to various honours, was preferred to the rank of abbot at Glastonbury, where he had been educated.

A.D. 943. His blessed queen Elfgiva having borne a son, Eadgar, to king Eadmund, the magnificent the holy abbot Dunstan heard voices as of some singing on high, and saying, "Peace to the church of the Angles in the time of the boy now born, and of our Dunstan." In this year the same king received Anlaf, whom we before mentioned, from the laver of holy regeneration, and bestowed on him a princely donation; and a short time after, he stood for Reingnold, king of the Northumbrians, at his confirmation by the bishop, and adopted him as his son.

A.D. 944. Eadmund, the magnificent king of the Angles, expelled two kings—namely, Anlaf the son of Sihtric, and Reignold the son of Guthferth—from Northumbria, and subdued it to his own authority.

A.D. 945. Eadmund, the magnificent king of the Angles, overran the land of the Cumbrians, and gave it to Malculm, king of the

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[1] This is Wigred, bishop of Lindisfarne; his successor was Uhtred.

Scots, on this tenure, that he should keep fealty with him by sea and land.

A.D. 946. On the feast of St. Augustine the doctor of the Angles, in the royal vill, called in English Puclechurch, Eadmund, the magnificent king of the Angles, wishing to rescue his cupbearer from being slain by the hands of an infamous robber, Leov, was killed by the same man, after a reign of five years and seven months, in the fourth indiction, on Tuesday, the seventh of the kalends of June [26th May]; and being conveyed to Glastonbury, he was there buried by the blessed abbot Dunstan. His brother Edred succeeded him in the kingdom, and was consecrated king by St. Odo the archbishop, at Kingston.

A.D. 948. Aldred,[1] who was bishop after Uchtred, died, and Ailsi succeeded him.

A.D. 949. Wlstan, archbishop of York, and all the Northumbrian nobles, swore fealty to Edred, the illustrious king of the Angles, at the vill called Taddene's-cliff; but they did not keep it long, for they placed over them as king a certain man of Danish extraction, named Eyric.

A.D. 950. Eadred, the illustrious king of the Angles, devastated Northumbria, on account of the unfaithfulness of the Northumbrians, in which devastation the monastery of Ripon, originally built by St. Wilfred, bishop, was destroyed by fire. As the king was returning home, the army, sallying from the city of York, made a great slaughter in the rear of the king's army at the place called Catesford;[2] in consequence of which the king, highly enraged, determined to return thither and utterly destroy all that country. But on this becoming known, the Northumbrians, struck with alarm, cast off Eyric whom they had set up as king, made satisfaction to the king for their insults by honours, for his losses by donations, and pacified his displeasure by no small sum of money.

A.D. 951. St. Elfeg, surnamed the Bald, Bishop of Winchester, who had graced the blessed Dunstan with the degree of monk and of priest, terminated this life; to whom succeeded Elfsin in the see. Likewise died Owel,[3] king of the Britons.

A.D. 952. Eadred, the renowned king of the Angles, closely imprisoned Wlstan, archbishop of York, at Juthanbyrig [Jedburgh], because he had often been accused[4] before him on sure grounds.

A.D. 954. Wlstan, archbishop of York, freed from imprisonment, was restored to the episcopal dignity at Dorchester.

A.D. 955. Eadred, the illustrious king of the Angles, was taken ill in the tenth year of his reign, and his life despaired of. A hasty message was sent to summon his father-confessor, the blessed abbot Dunstan. As he was hurrying to the palace, and had performed half his journey, a voice from above distinctly pronounced in his hearing, "King Eadred now rests in peace." At this sound the horse on which he was mounted, unable to endure the angelic voice, fell dead to the earth, without any injury to the rider. The body of the king was carried to Winchester, and there committed by this abbot Dunstan to an honourable interment in the old monastery. His nephew Edwy the Atheling, the son namely of king Eadmund and his pious queen Ealgiva, received the monarchy of the kingdom, and was consecrated king at Kingston by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury.

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[1] See Florence of Worcester, A.D. 968.

[2] Chesterford, in the Saxon Chronicle and Florence.

[3] This was Howel Dha. See the Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 950, ap. Petrie, p. 837.

[4] See Malmesbury's History of the Kings, § 146.

A.D. 956. The blessed abbot Dunstan, being sentenced to banishment by Edwy, king of the Angles, crossed the sea, and during the time of his exile took up his residence in the monastery called Blandunum.[1] Wlstan, archbishop of York, dying on the seventh of the kalends of January[2] [26th Dec.], was buried at Oundle; to him succeeded the reverend man Oskytell.

A.D. 957. Edwy, king of the Angles, acting unwisely in the conduct of his government, fell into contempt of the Mercians and Northumbrians, who renounced him, and elected as king his brother Eadgar the Atheling; and the rule of the kings was so divided that the river Thames formed the boundary of both their kingdoms. King Eadgar speedily recalled from exile with honour and respect the blessed abbot Dunstan. A short time after this died Ceonwald, bishop of the church of Worcester, a man of great humility, and of the monastic order. In his room the blessed Dunstan was elected to the episcopate, and consecrated by Odo archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 958. St. Odo archbishop of Canterbury separated from each other, Edwy king of the West Saxons and Elgiva; either because, as it was said, she was near of kin to him, or because he loved her wantonly under the character of a wife. In the same year this archbishop, a man of truly distinguished talent and renowned virtue, and abounding in the spirit of prophecy, departed from worldly affairs, and was carried by the hands of angels to paradise. To him succeeded Elfsin, bishop of Winchester, and in his place Brihtelm was consecrated to the episcopate of the church of Winchester.

A.D. 959. Elfsin, archbishop of Canterbury, died on his way to Rome to obtain the pall, being blocked up in the Alpine mountains by frost and snow. Edwy, king of the West Saxons, died after a reign of four years, and was buried in the New Monastery at Winchester. By the choice of all the nations of the Angles, his brother Eadgar, king of the Mercians, assumed the government, and united the separated kingdoms in one, in the sixteenth year of his age, five hundred and ten years after the coming of the Angles to Britain, and three hundred and sixty-three after the coming to England of St. Augustine and his companions.

Brihtelm, bishop of the people of Dorsetshire, was elected to the patriarchate of the see of Canterbury; but being unequal to so great a charge, at the command of the king he resigned Canterbury, and returned to the church which he had just left. After this the blessed Dunstan, bishop of the church of Worcester, by Divine favour and the counsel of the wise, was appointed primate and patriarch of the metropolitan city of the Angles. By whom and other prudent men, Eadgar, king of the Angles, being ably directed, everywhere repressed the wicked; reduced by sharp correction the rebellious; favoured the just and orderly; restored and adorned the churches of God which had been destroyed. Casting out offenders from the monasteries of the clergy, he assembled companies of monks and nuns to the praise of the almighty Creator, and more than forty monasteries of them were founded by his direction, all of whom he honoured as brothers and loved as dear sons, himself exhorting the pastors whom he set over them, that they should warn them to live orderly and unblameably, so as in all things to please Christ and his saints.

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[1] Namely, in the Benedictine Monastery of St. Pierre de Gand, over which at this time, Womar, or Woltmar, presided as abbot. See Gallia Christ. v. 192.

[2] Florence and Hoveden, together with some copies of the Saxon Chronicle, agree with this date; but the MS. date of the last cited authority refers his death to 16th Dec. 957.

A.D. 960. St. Dunstan having gone to Rome in the third indiction, received the pall from pope John [XII.], and so returned in peace to his own country. A few months after he sought the royal palace, and by suggestion and humble entreaty besought the king's piety that he would promote to the pontifical dignity of the church of Worcester a religious man, a mild and humble monk, nephew to his predecesor Odo, the blessed Oswald, whom he had most truly proved to abound in the fear of God and in holy fruits of virtue. King Eadgar assented to the request of the holy Dunstan, and the blessed Oswald was by him inthroned in the highest rank of the priesthood.

A.D. 963. The venerable abbot St. Ethelwold, brought up by the blessed Dunstan, received the episcopate of the church of Winchester at the death of Brithelm; and in the same year he filled the old monastery with monks, the secular clergy being expelled by order of the king. For he who was the king's chief counsellor incited him to this, that he should expel the secular clergy from the monasteries, and order monks and nuns to be placed in them.

A.D. 964. Eadgar, the pacific king of the Angles, took in marriage the daughter of Ordgar, duke of Devonshire, after the death of her husband Elfwold, the illustrious duke of the East Angles, of whom he begot two sons, Eadmund and Egelred.[1] Also before this he had by Egelfled the Fair, daughter of duke Ordmer, Eadward, afterwards king and martyr, and by the holy Wlthirtha, Eagitha, a virgin devoted to God. In the same year the same king located monks in the new monastery [of Winchester], and in Middleton; and appointed over the former Ethelgar, over the latter, Cymeward, as abbots.

A.D. 967. Eadgar, the peaceful king of the Angles, placed nuns in the monastery of Rumesige, which had been erected by his grandfather, Eadward the elder, the king of the Angles; and over these nuns he placed Merwinna as their abbess.

A.D. 968. Aldred,[2] bishop of St. Cuthbert's in Cunecacestre

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[1] Or Ethelred. See Florence, p. 246.

[2] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xxxv.

[Chester-le-street], departed this life. Elfsius succeeded him in the episcopate.

A.D. 969. Eadgar, the pacific king of the Angles, ordered St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and the blessed Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, that, driving out the secular clergy, they should place monks in the greater monasteries throughout Mercia. Upon which St. Oswald, acting according to his desire, expelled from the monastery the clerics of the church of Worcester who refused to receive the monastic habit; but those who agreed to do so he in that year made monks, as he himself affirms, and set over them in the place of dean, Winsinus, a man of much religion.

A.D. 970. The sacred and venerable remains of bishop Swithun, one hundred and ten years after their burial, were taken up from his tomb in the thirteenth indiction, on Friday, being the ides of July [15th July], by the venerable bishop St. Ethelwold, and Elfstan, abbot of Glastonbury, and Ethelgar, abbot of the New Monastery, and were most honourably deposited in the church of the apostles Peter and Paul.[1]

A.D. 971. Eadmund the Atheling, son of king Eadgar, died, and was honourably interred in the monastery of Romsey. Not long after, Ordgar, duke of Devonshire, the father-in-law of king Eadgar, died, and was buried in Exeter.

A.D. 972. Eadgar, the pacific king of the Angles, directed the church of the New Monastery, begun by Eadmund his father and completed by himself, to be consecrated with pomp. On the death of Oskytill, archbishop of York, his relative St. Oswald, bishop of Worcester, was elected in his place to the archiepiscopate.

A.D. 973. Eadgar, the Pacific, in the thirtieth year of his age, in the fifth[2] indiction, on Whitsunday, the fifth of the ides of May [11th May], was blessed by the holy prelates, Dunstan and Oswald, and the other bishops of all England, in the city of Acamann [Bath], and was consecrated with great honour and glory, and anointed as king. A short time after that, he with a large fleet sailed round the north of Britain, and landed at the City of Legions [Chester]. There met him there, as he had commanded, eight sub-kings—to wit, Kynath, king of the Scots; Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians; Maccus, king of many isles; and five others, Dufnald, Siferth, Huval, Jacob, and Nichil—and swore that they would be faithful assistants to him both by sea and land. On a certain day he went with them on board a boat; and they taking the oars, he took the helm, and skilfully steered it up the course of the river Dee; and a multitude of dukes and nobles also accompanying him in boats, he sailed from the palace to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, where, having offered his prayers, he returned to the palace with the same pomp. As he entered it, he is reported to have said to his nobles, that from henceforth each of his successors might boast that he was indeed king of the Angles, since so many kings being in subjection to him, he could attain the dignity of so great honours.

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[1] Namely, at Winchester: the fifteenth of July is the festival of St. Swithun.

[2] A.D. 973 was the first indiction.

St. Oswald received the pall from Stephen, the hundred and thirty-fourth pope.

A.D. 974. In this year a great earthquake took place over all England.

A.D. 975. The emperor of the Anglian world, the flower and glory of preceding kings, the pacific king Eadgar, no less memorable to the Angles than Romulus to the Romans, Cyrus to the Persians, Alexander to the Macedonians, Arsaces to the Parthians, or Charlemagne to the Franks, having accomplished all things in royal style, departed this life in the thirty-second year of his age, in the nineteenth of his reign over Mercia and Northumbria—sixteen years of which he had reigned over all Anglia—in the third indiction, on Thursday the eighth of the ides of July [8th July], leaving his son Eadward heir of his kingdom and his qualities. His body was carried to Glastonbury, and buried after the royal fashion. In his lifetime he had collected three thousand six hundred stout ships; of which, after Easter, he stationed one thousand two hundred on the east, one thousand two hundred on the west, and one thousand two hundred on the north coast of the island; and was wont to sail with the eastern fleet to the western, and leaving it, with the western to the northern, and leaving it, with the northern again to the eastern—thus every year circumnavigating the whole island. He acted thus boldly for defence against foreigners, and for practice in warlike arts to himself and his people. In winter also, and in spring, it was his practice to make a circuit within the kingdom, everywhere throughout all the provinces of the Angles, and diligently inquire how the statutes of the laws and of his decrees were observed by the nobles, lest the poor should suffer damage by the oppression of the powerful; desirous in the one case of strength, in the other of justice, consulting in both the welfare of the state and kingdom. Hence the fear of him spread amongst his enemies everywhere, and amongst his subjects love.

At his death the condition of the whole kingdom was disturbed, and after a period of happiness (since in his time peace had been established), tribulation began to come in on every side. For Elfere, prince of the Mercians, and very many nobles of the kingdom, blinded by large bribes, expelled the abbots, with their monks, from the monasteries in which the pacific king Eadgar had placed them, and introduced clerics with their wives. But this outrage was opposed by the reverent men, Ethelwin, beloved of God, duke of the East Angles, and his brother Elfwold, and earl Brihtnoth, a religious man; who, assembled in synod, declared that they would never suffer the monks to be driven away, who preserved all the religion in the kingdom. Then, assembling an army, they defended with great energy all the monasteries of the East Angles. While this was taking place, there arose among the nobles of the kingdom great dissension about the choice of a king. The choice of some fell on the king's son Eadward; of others, on his brother Egelred. On account of which the archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, with their suffragans, and many abbots and dukes, met together and elected Eadward, as his father had decreed, and consecrated him when elected, and anointed him king. A comet was seen in the autumnal season.

A.D. 976. A great famine assailed England.

A.D. 977. A very great synod was held at the vill called Cirding,[1] in East Anglia. After that, while another was held at the royal vill of Calne, the elders of all England who were there assembled, with the exception of St. Dunstan, fell from a certain chamber; some of whom were killed, others barely escaped at the peril of their lives.

A.D. 978. Eadward, king of the Angles, by the command of his stepmother, queen Elfthrid, was wickedly killed by her people at the place called Corvesgate, and was buried at Wareham with no royal ceremony. His brother, the excellent Atheling Egelred, courteous in manner, fair of countenance, and graceful in appearance, was consecrated to the dignity of the kingdom in Kingston, by archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, and ten bishops, in the sixth indiction, on Sunday, the eighteenth of the kalends of May [14th April], after the Easter festival. A cloud was seen over the whole of England at midnight, at one time bloody, then fiery; after that, changing to different rays and various colours, it disappeared about dawn.

A.D. 979. Elfer, duke of the Mercians, with a multitude of people, came to Wareham, and ordered the blessed body of the beloved king and martyr, Eadward, to be raised from the tomb; which when exposed was found free from all decay and corruption. Being washed and enveloped in new vestments, it was brought to Shaftesbury and honourably entombed.

A.D. 980. Southampton was ravaged by the Danes, and almost all its inhabitants either slain or taken prisoners. Not long after, the same army devastated the Isle of Thanet. Also in the same year the province of the City of Legions [Chester] was ravaged by Norwegian pirates.

A.D. 981. The monastery of St. Petroc,[2] in Cornwall, was devastated by the pirates, who in the past year had devastated Southampton. After this, they made frequent forays on the coast of Devonshire and Cornwall.

A.D. 982. Three ships of pirates assailed the province of Dorset, and ravaged Portland. The city of London was consumed by fire.

A.D. 983. Elfer, duke of the Mercians, a relation of Eadgar king of the Angles, died, and his son Alfric inherited his dukedom.

A.D. 984. St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, departed this life in the second indiction, on the kalends of August [1st Aug.]; to him succeeded Elfege, abbot of Bath. He had received the monkish habit in the monastery called Deorhyrst.

A.D. 986. Egelred, king of the Angles, on account of certain differences, laid siege to the city of Rochester, and finding difficulty in taking it, he departed in a rage and devastated the land of [the church of] St. Andrew the apostle. Alfric, duke of the Mercians, son of duke Alfer, was expelled from England.

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[1] Read "Kyrtling." See Florence, p. 249.

[2] Namely, at Padstow (Petroc-stow). See Camd. Brit. col. 23; Dugd. Monast. i. 213.

A.D. 987. In this year two plagues unknown in past ages to the Anglican nation, namely a fever in men and a malady in cattle, called in their tongue "Scitta," or a looseness of the bowels, prevailed very greatly over all England, and raged in an indescribable manner through all the English territories, affecting men with a great pestilence, and entirely destroying the cattle.

A.D. 988. Wecedport [Watchet] was pillaged by the Danish pirates, who also slew the thane of Devonshire, named Goda, and Strenwold,[1] a very brave soldier, with some others. But yet more of them being killed, the Angles were masters of the field of slaughter. The blessed archbishop Dunstan departed this life on Saturday, the fourteenth of the kalends of June [19th May], in the first indiction, and went to the throne of the heavenly city: in his place Ethelgar, bishop of Selsey, received the archbishopric, and held it a year and three months.

A.D. 990. Aldune[2] succeeded Elfsy, bishop of Lindisfarne, deceased.

A.D. 991. Siric succeeded Ethelgar, archbishop of Canterbury. In this year the Danes pillaged Ipswich; their dukes were Justin and Guthmund, the son of Steytan; not long after, Brithnod, the valiant duke of the East Saxons, engaged in battle with them, but after an immense number had perished on both sides, the duke himself fell, and the fortune of the Danes prevailed. Moreover in this year, by the advice of Siric, archbishop of Canterbury, and dukes Ethelward and Alfric, tribute to the amount of ten thousand pounds was first given to the Danes, that they should abstain from the frequent plunderings, burnings and slaughters which they constantly carried on on the sea coast, and should preserve a sound peace with them. St. Oswald, archbishop, on Tuesday, the sixth of the ides of November [8th Nov.], consecrated the monastery of Ramsey, which he and the beloved of God, Ethelwine, duke of the East Angles, had founded, aided by the divine assistance, and supported by his help.

A.D. 992. St. Oswald, archbishop, on Monday, the second of the kalends of March [29th Feb.], in the fifth indiction, departing this life, ascended to the joys of the heavenly kingdom, and rests at Worcester in the church of St. Mary, which he himself had built from the foundations. To him succeeded the venerable abbot Aldulf, of Medeshamstede [Peterborough]. Not long[3] after the departure of the blessed Oswald, duke Ethelwin of noble memory, beloved of God, died, and was honourably interred at Ramsey.

A.D. 993. In this year the aforesaid host of Danes stormed Bambrough, and carried off all that they found in it. Afterwards, directing their course to the mouth of the river Humber, they took great booty, with much burning of vills and slaughter of men in Lindsey and in Northumbria. Many of the inhabitants assembling went promptly out against them; but as the engagement was about to commence, the leaders of their army, to wit, Frana, Frethegist, and Godwin, who were Danes by descent on the father's side, acting treacherously towards their followers, set the first example of flight.

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[1] Apparently we should read Strenwold goda—Strenwold the good.

[2] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xxxv.

[3] According to the Obituary of the monastery of Ramsey (printed in Dugdale's Monast. i. 239) he died on the eighth of the kalends of May [24th April].

A.D. 994. Anlaf, king of the Norwegians, and Suane, king of the Danes, on the feast of the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], came up in ninety-four galleys to London, which they speedily attempted to storm and burn; but by the help of God, and Mary his mother, they were repulsed by the citizens, not without some loss of their army. Wherefore, exasperated by rage and grief, they retreated from thence on the same day, and first in Essex and Kent, and on the coast, then in Sussex and Hampshire, they burnt the towns, laid waste the lands, and without regard to sex destroyed a great number by fire and sword, and took great plunder. At last, seizing horses for themselves, and madly roving throughout many of the provinces, they spared neither the female sex nor the innocence of infants, but put all to death with brutal ferocity. Then king Egelred, by the advice of his nobles, sent ambassadors to them, promising to give them tribute and pay, on condition of their desisting altogether from their cruelty; they, agreeing to the king's request, returned to their vessels, and so their whole army assembling at Southampton, took up their quarters there. Payment was made to them from all Wessex, and the tribute from the whole of England amounted to sixteen thousand pounds.

In the meanwhile, by the command of king Egelred, Elfege, bishop of Winchester, and the most noble duke Ethelward went to king Anlaf, and hostages being given, they brought him with honour to the royal vill of Andover, where the king was staying. The king nobly received him, caused him to be confirmed by the bishop, adopted him as his son, and presented him with a royal gift. He promised king Ethelred that he would not again come to England with his army, and after this returned to his ships, and reaching his country early in the summer, he strictly kept his promises.

Richard, first duke of the Normans, died, whose son Richard succeeded him for one year, and after him his brother Robert.

A.D. 995. Bishop Aldune translated the body of St. Cuthbert from Chester to Durham.[1]

A.D. 996. Elfric was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 997. The host of Danes which had remained in England, sailing round Wessex, entered the mouth of the river Severn, and ravaged at one time North Wales, then Cornwall, then Watchet, in Devon, and burning many vills made a great slaughter of men. Thence returning round Penwithsteort,[2] and going up the mouth of the river Tamer, which separates Cornwall and Devon, they landed, and without opposition continued their burning and renewed their slaughter as far as Lidford. Moreover having burnt also the monastery of Ordulf, primate of Devon, called Tavistock, they returned to their vessels loaded with great booty, and wintered in the same place.

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[1] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xxxix.

[2] The Land's End. See Camd. Brit. col. 10.

A.D. 998. The said host of pagans, landing at the mouth of the river Frome, laid waste the greatest part of Dorsetshire; then it frequented the Isle of Wight, and often returned to Dorsetshire; and whilst it lay in Wight it drew its supplies from the province of Sussex and Hampshire. An army was many a time raised to oppose this destructive tempest, but whenever they were about to engage in fight, the Angles, either victims to treachery or some other ill luck, turned their backs, and left the victory to their enemies.

A.D. 999. The oft-named host of pagans, entering the mouth of the river Thames, sailed up the river Medway to Rochester, and blockaded it for a few days. The Kentish men assembled to repel them, and engaged in a sharp battle with them; but after great loss on both sides, the Danes were masters of the field of slaughter. Riding from hence they destroyed nearly the whole west border of Kent. Knowing this, Egelred, king of the Angles, with the advice of his nobles, prepared both a fleet and an army of infantry; but whilst the vessels were getting ready, the leaders of the army, devising from day to day delays in their undertaking, grievously harassed the people; and at last neither the naval nor the land force effected anything for the general good, except the labour of the people and loss of money and encouragement to the enemy.

A.D. 1000. The aforesaid fleet of Danes went to Normandy this year, and returning the ensuing year to England, did more damage than before. King Ethelred ravaged nearly the whole country of the Cumbrians. He ordered his fleet to sail round North Wales, and meet him at an appointed place; but being hindered by adverse winds, it could not. Nevertheless he laid waste the Isle of Monege [Anglesey].

A.D. 1001. The said host of pagans returning from Normandy to England, entered the mouth of the river Exe, and presently proceeded to storm the city of Exeter; but as they were endeavouring to destroy the wall, they were repulsed by the citizens, who bravely defended the town; greatly exasperated at this, they spread over Devonshire in their wonted manner, burning the towns, plundering the lands, and slaughtering the inhabitants. Wherefore the men of Devonshire and Somerset, uniting at the place called Penho, engaged in fight against them. But the Angles, owing to the fewness of their soldiers, took to flight, overpowered by the numbers of the Danes who remained conquerors, having made great slaughter. There having obtained horses, they perpetrated greater evils than before throughout nearly the whole of Devonshire, and returned to their vessels, having taken enormous booty. They thence directed their course to the Isle of Wight; and now in it, now in Hampshire, now in Dorsetshire, they for a long time pursued their accustomed plunder without resistance, and raged against the people with the sword and against the towns with fire, to such a degree, that neither dared a fleet contend with them by sea, nor an army by land. The king was on this account affected by no slight grief, and the people by distress unutterable.

A.D. 1002. Egelred, king of the Angles, holding counsel with the nobles of his kingdom, considered it advisable to make a payment to the Danes, that they might desist from their injuries, and to appease them by a tribute. For this purpose duke Leofsy was sent to them. When he came, he begged them to receive pay and tribute. They, readily entertaining his proposal, acceded to his request, and fixed the amount of tribute to be paid to them for keeping the peace. Not long after, twenty-four thousand pounds were paid over to them. In the meantime the same duke Leofsy killed a noble man, Easic,[1] the chief steward of the king, for which the king, being highly displeased, banished him from the kingdom. In the same year king Egelred took to wife Emma, called in Saxon Elgiva, daughter of Richard, first duke of Normandy; of whom the same king begot king Eadward, and also Alfred, long after slain by the treachery of earl Godwin.

Aldulf, archbishop of York, assembling his suffragans, abbots, priests, and religious men, in the twenty-fifth year of Ethelred, king of the Angles, in the fifteenth indiction, on Wednesday, the seventeenth of the kalends of May [15th April], disinterred the bones of the archbishop St. Oswald, and reverently placed them in a shrine which he had prepared. And not long after, that is, on the day before the nones of May [6th May], he died, and was buried in the church of St. Mary, at Worcester. To him succeeded abbot Wlstan. Also in the same year, king Egelred ordered the destruction of all the Danes dwelling in England, great and small, and of both sexes, because they endeavoured to deprive him and his nobles of their life and kingdom, and to subdue the whole of England under their own rule.

A.D. 1003. In this year, by the ill design, negligence and treachery of the Norman, earl Hugh, whom queen Emma had set over Devonshire, Suane, king of the Danes, took by storm the city of Exeter, pillaged it, destroyed the wall from the east to the west gate, and retreated to his vessels with much spoil. But after this, while he was plundering the province of Wiltshire, a strong army levied from the provinces of Hampshire and Wiltshire went up, prepared to fight boldly and steadily against their enemies. But when the armies had approached so near that they could see one another, the oft-named duke Alfric, who then occupied the place of general of the Angles, immediately practised his old tricks, and in feigned illness began to vomit, saying, that he was seized with a severe complaint, on account of which he was unable to engage the enemy. When the army saw his backwardness and timidity, they retreated in sadness from their enemies without a blow; as the old proverb says, "When the leader in a battle trembles, all the other warriors become timorous." But Suane, seeing the unsteadiness of the Angles, led his army to the city of Wilton, plundered and burnt it: also in like manner destroyed Salisbury, and afterward returned to his ships.

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[1] In the Saxon Chronicle and Florence, A.D. 1002, his name is Eafic.

A.D. 1004. Suane, king of the Danes, sailing with his fleet to Norwich, plundered and burnt it. Then Ulfketel, duke of the East Angles, a man of great bravery, as they had come unawares, and he had no time to raise an army against them, having taken counsel with the chiefs of East Anglia, made peace with him. But he, violating the treaty, in the third week after this, stealing with his forces from their ships, attacked Thetford, plundered it, remained in it one night, and burnt it at daybreak. When this was known, duke Ulfketel ordered some of the provincials to break up the enemy's vessels. But they either dared not or would not fulfil his command. He in the meanwhile quietly collecting his army as quickly as possible, went boldly up against the enemy. When they were retreating to their vessels, he met them with an unequal force of soldiers, and fought a severe battle with them. Many were killed on both sides, some of the nobles of East Anglia perished, and the Danes with difficulty escaped. But if the strength of the East Angles had been present, they would never have regained their vessels; for they themselves testify that never did they experience a harder or more severe contest than that which duke Ulfketel fought with them.

A.D. 1005. In this year a great and severe famine pervaded England; on account of which Suane, king of the Danes, retired to Denmark, to return after no long time.

A.D. 1006. Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury, died, to whom succeeded Elfege, bishop of Winchester, and in his place Kenulf received the episcopate.

In the month of July an innumerable fleet of Danes coming to England, entered the port of Sandwich, and destroying all things by slaughter and flames, took great booty, at one time in Kent, at another in Sussex. King Egelred, therefore, raised an army from Mercia and Wessex, and bravely resolved to fight with them. But they had no desire to enter into fair fight with him; but now here, now there, carried on continual ravages, and speedily retired as usual to their vessels, and in this way they harassed the army of the Angles through the whole of the autumn. They then returning home as winter was at hand, the Danes went with enormous plunder to the Isle of Wight and remained there till Christmas; at which time, as the king was then abiding in the province of Shropshire, they marched through the province of Hampshire to Berkshire, and burnt Reading, Wallingford, Cholsey, and many villages. Advancing thence past Eascesdune [Ashdown], they came to Cwichelmeslawe [Cuckamsleyhill]. Returning from thence by another route near the Kennet, they encountered the inhabitants ready for battle, and at once engaged with them and put them to flight, and then retired to their ships with the booty which they had taken.

A.D. 1007. In this year Egelred, king of the Angles, with the advice of his nobles, sent ambassadors to the Danes with instructions to inform them that he was willing to give them supplies and pay tribute, on condition that they should desist from their plunderings and keep a firm peace with him. To this demand they assented, and from that time supplies were given them from all England, and tribute to the amount of thirty-six thousand pounds was paid them for keeping the peace. Also in this year king Ethelred appointed one Edric,[1] surnamed Streone, duke of the Mercians.

A.D. 1008. Ethelred, king of the Angles, gave strict orders that vessels should be built throughout all England, one galley to be provided by each three hundred and ten hides, and from any nine a coat of mail and a helmet. The ships being ready, he placed in them chosen soldiers with provisions, and assembled them at the port of Sandwich, that they might defend the coasts of his kingdom from foreign invasions. At that time the brother of the perfidious duke Edric Streone, Brithric, (a deceitful man, ambitious and proud,) unjustly accused to the king Wlnoth, the thane of Sussex. He speedily fled, to avoid being captured, and having obtained twenty ships he carried on continual ravages on the sea-coast. But when news came to the royal fleet, that whosoever chose might capture him without difficulty, Brithric, taking eighty galleys, set out in pursuit of him. But after a prosperous voyage for some time, a furious storm suddenly arising, struck the vessels, shattered them, and cast them ashore, and soon after Wlnoth burnt them up. When this was known, the king with his dukes and nobles returned home, and the fleet by his order went to London, and thus perished the very great effort which had been made by the whole population.

A.D. 1009. The Danish earl Turkill came to England with his fleet. After that, in the month of August, another innumerable fleet of Danes, under the command of dukes Hemming and Eilaf, came to the Isle of Thanet, and without delay joined the aforesaid fleet. Both then entered the harbour of Sandwich, and disembarking from their vessels they went up against Canterbury and laid siege to it. The citizens of Canterbury, with the men of East Kent, asking of them agreement by treaty, obtained it, and gave them three thousand pounds for a firm peace. They returning to their vessels, directed their course to the Isle of Wight; thence (as they were wont) they made constant plunder on the coast of Sussex and Hampshire, and burnt a great many vills. Wherefore king Egelred levied an army from all England, and placed them through the provinces bordering on the sea to oppose their incursions. But they did not on that account cease from carrying on their ravages everywhere, according to the facilities afforded by the position of places. So on one occasion when they as usual made a plundering inroad far from the sea, and were retreating loaded with spoil, the king pre-occupied the road by which they were to return to their vessels, furnished with many thousand armed men, and ready (as was his whole army) to conquer or to die. But the treacherous duke Edric Streone, son-in-law to the king (for he had married his daughter Egitha), strove in every way, both by craft and cunning speeches, that they should not engage in battle, but on that occasion should permit their enemies to escape. He urged his point so that he carried it, and like a traitor to the country, he thus rescued the Danes from the hands of the Angles, and allowed them to escape; they slipping past their enemies, reached their vessels with great rejoicing. After these things, the feast of St. Martin [11th Nov.] being past, they went down into Kent and took up winter quarters in the river Thames, and seized their supplies from Essex, and the other provinces lying on both banks of the river. They also made frequent attempts to storm the city of London; but were repulsed by the citizens, not without some loss of their men.

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[1] See Florence, p. 257.

A.D. 1010. The said host of Danes, disembarking in the month of January, went through the forest called Chiltern to Oxford, which they pillaged and burnt, and then in returning obtained plunder on both sides of the river Thames. When it was told them that an army was gathered against them at London, and would give them battle, the part of their forces which marched on the north bank of the river, crossed at the place called Staine, and joining together they retreated, loaded with abundance of spoil, through Surrey to their ships, which they repaired in the season of Lent, while they lay in Kent.

After Easter [9th April], going to East Anglia, they landed near Ipswich, and marched to the place called Ringmere, where they knew that duke Ulfketel lay with an army, and fought a hard battle with him on the third of the nones of May [5th May]. But when the fight became furious, the East Angles turned their backs, a certain Danish minister Turkill, surnamed Mirenheafed, first commencing the flight. But the men of Cambridge stood a long time fighting manfully, yet at length were routed and fled. In that battle fell Ethelstan, the son-in-law of king Ethelred, the noble minister Oswy with his sons, Wlfric the son of Leofwin, Edwy the brother of Elfic,[1] and many other noble thanes, and people innumerable. The Danes, being masters of the field of slaughter, occupied East Anglia, and being mounted, continued for three months to make forays through the whole province, to take plunder, to burn towns, and to slaughter men and cattle. They did the same thing everywhere in the fens. After that, they pillaged and burnt Thetford and Cambridge. Having effected these things, the infantry being transported in the ships, the cavalry going on horseback, they returned to the river Thames, but in the course of a few days they again set out on a predatory excursion, and went by a direct route to the province of Oxford, and devastated first it, then the provinces of Buckingham, Bedford, and Hertford, burning the towns and slaughtering men and cattle, and after that returned to their ships with great booty. After this, about the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle [30th Nov.], they came to Northampton, and in its environs committed to the flames whatever they would; and thence crossing the river Thames they came into Wessex, and having burnt Caningamerse and the greater part of Wiltshire, about Christmas they returned as usual to their ships with great spoil.

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[1] See Florence, p. 259.

A.D. 1011. On the north side of the Thames, the provinces of East Anglia, Essex, Middlesex, Hertford, Buckingham, Oxford, Bedford, Cambridge, and half of Huntingdon, and a great part of the county of Northampton; and on the south side of the Thames, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hants, Wilts, and Berkshire, having been destroyed with fire and sword by the said host of Danes, Egelred, king of the Angles, and the nobles of his kingdom, sent ambassadors to them desiring peace of them, and promising to pay them tribute if they would desist from devastating. Listening to them (as the event proved) not without fraud and deceit, they agreed to their offers. For though supplies were abundantly prepared for them, and tribute paid to their wish, they did not cease anywhere from making excursions in troops through the provinces; they pillaged the towns, and deprived some of the wretched inhabitants of their property, some of their life.

At last, between the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.] and the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.], surrounding Canterbury, they besieged it. And on the twentieth day of the siege, through the treachery of Almer the archdeacon, (whom St. Alfege had previously rescued from being put to death,) part of the city was burnt, the army entered, and took the town. Some were killed with the sword, some perished in the flames, many were thrown headlong from the walls, and some died, being suspended by the privy members. Matrons dragged by the hair through the streets of the city, at last were thrown into the flames and perished. Infants torn from the mother's breast were carried on pikes, or crushed to pieces by a wagon driven over them. Meanwhile the archbishop Alfege was taken, bound, imprisoned, and tormented in various ways. Almer, abbot of the monastery of St. Augustine, was permitted to depart. There were taken Godwin, bishop of Rochester, Leofruna, abbess of the monastery of St. Mildryth,[1] Elfred, the king's steward; also monks and clerics, and innumerable people of both sexes. Then Christ Church was plundered and burnt; the band of monks and the entire population, as well men as women and children, was decimated. Nine were put to death, the tenth was kept alive. Of these tenths the number consisted of four monks and eight hundred men.

The people now being slain, the city plundered and all burnt, the archbishop Alfege was dragged out bound, was driven along and severely wounded, was carried to the fleet, and then again thrust into prison, and there tormented for seven months. In the mean while the anger of God being aroused against the murderous people, destroyed two thousand of them by dreadful pains of the intestines. Others of them also being seized in a similar way, they were advised by the faithful to make reparation to the prelate; but they refused. Meanwhile the mortality increased, and destroyed them now by tens, now by twenties, now more.

A.D. 1012. The perfidious duke Edric Streone, and all the nobles of England, of each rank, assembled at London before Easter, and remained there as long as till the tribute promised to the Danes, amounting to forty-eight thousand pounds, was paid. Meanwhile, on the blessed sabbath of the Lord's rest in the tomb [12th April], a condition was offered by the Danes to archbishop Alfege, whereby he might obtain life and liberty on payment of three thousand pounds. On his refusal they postponed his death till the Saturday following. When it came they were inflamed with great anger against him, both because they were intoxicated with wine, and because he had forbidden any one to give anything for his ransom. Therefore he was brought out of confinement and dragged before their council. They presently leaped from their seats, knocked him down with the back of their axes, and overwhelmed him with stones, bones, and the heads of oxen. At last one named Thrum, whom he had confirmed the day before, moved by a sort of impious piety, clove his skull with a hatchet. He slept in the Lord on the thirteenth of the kalends of May [19th April], and his victorious spirit departed in triumph to heaven. On the following day his body was removed to London, received with reverence by the citizens, and buried in the church of St. Paul by bishops Eadnoth of Lincoln [Dorchester], and Alhfun of London. After this, the tribute being paid, and peace confirmed by oaths, the Danish fleet was dispersed far and wide as it had been at first assembled. But forty-five ships remained with the king, and swore fealty to him, and promised to defend England against foreigners, provided the king would supply them with food and clothing.

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[1] Situated in Thanet. See Dugd. Monast. i. 83.

A.D. 1013. Lifing received the archbishopric of Canterbury.

In the month of July, Suane, king of the Danes, came with a powerful fleet to the port of Sandwich, and after remaining there a few days, departed, and sailing round East Anglia, entered the mouth of the river Humber, from which he entered the river Trent and sailed to Gainsborough, where also he pitched a camp. And without delay earl Uthred and the men of Northumbria and Lindsey first, then the men of the Five Boroughs, and afterwards all the people who dwelt on the north side of Watling-street, (that is, the street which the sons of king Wetla formed through England from the East to the Western sea,) surrendered to him; and peace being settled with him, they swore fealty to him by giving hostages. He ordered them to find horses and supplies for his army. These things being effected, and the fleet with the hostages committed to his son Cnut, taking with him auxiliaries chosen from them who had surrendered to him, he made an expedition against the southern Mercians; and crossing Watling-street, issued his orders that they should devastate the land, burn the towns, plunder the churches, put to death (regardless of pity) all of the male sex who might fall into their hands, preserve the females for the gratification of their lust, and perpetrate all the evil they could. Then, acting and raging with the ferocity of wild beasts, he came to Oxford, and took possession of it sooner than he calculated, and receiving hostages, hurried to Winchester. On his arrival there, the inhabitants of Winchester, terrified by the extent of his barbarity, at once made peace with him and gave up hostages, whom and as many as he desired. Receiving them, he marched his army towards London. Many of them perished by drowning in the river Thames, as they were unable to find either bridge or ford. Reaching London, he endeavoured by various means to take it, either by stratagem or by assault; but Egelred, king of the English, with the citizens, and by the aid of the oft-mentioned Danish earl Turchill, who was at that time with him in the city, bravely defended the walls of the town, and drove him back. On this repulse, he went first to Wallingford and then to Bath; as usual, plundering and destroying everything in his way: and there he took up his quarters to refresh his army. Then Ethelmar, earl of Devonshire, came to him, and with him the Western nobles, and making peace with him gave him hostages. All these things being accomplished according to his will, returning to his fleet, he was both called and accounted king by all the people of the Angles; if indeed the man can rightly be called a king who in almost all things acted as a tyrant. Also the citizens of London sent him hostages and made peace with him, for they feared that his ferocity would blaze up against them to such a degree, that after having carried off all their property he would order their eyes to be put out, or their hands and feet to be cut off. King Egelred seeing this, sent his queen Emma in a ship with treasures to Normandy to his brother Richard, the second earl of the Normans; also his sons Eadward and Elfred with their tutor Elfhun, bishop of London, and Alsy, abbot of Peterborough. He remained awhile with the Danish fleet, which lay in the Thames at the place called Greenwich, and afterwards going down to the Isle of Wight, he celebrated the Lord's Nativity there. When this was over, he crossed to Normandy, and was received with respect by earl Richard, with whom he spent the whole period of his residence, having taken up his quarters in the city of Rouen, where he was abundantly supplied with every requisite. Meanwhile, the tyrant Suane ordered a plentiful supply of provision to be furnished for his fleet, and a tribute almost unbearable to be paid; and earl Turchill gave orders in all respects similar for the fleet which lay at Greenwich. And besides all this, both of them carried off plunder whenever they chose, and committed many evil deeds.

A.D. 1014. The tyrant Suane, after the innumerable and savage ills which he had perpetrated, as well in England as in other countries, as the crowning point of his damnation, dared to exact a great tribute from the town where rests the uncorrupted body of the precious martyr Eadmund, which no one had before dared to do, from the time when the town had been given to the church of the said saint. He repeatedly threatened that, if this were not paid immediately, he would most certainly burn the town with its inhabitants, totally destroy the church of the martyr, and put the clergy in various ways to the torture. Moreover, he frequently had the audacity to speak ill of the martyr himself in sundry ways, and to assert that he had nothing of the saint about him. But since he would put no limit to his impiety, the Divine vengeance did not suffer the blasphemer to live longer. At length, just about the evening of the day on which, in a general meeting held at

Gainsborough, he had reiterated the same threats, when surrounded by dense crowds of Danes, he alone saw St. Eadmund coming armed from the opposite side. At the sight of him he was terrified, and began to shout with a loud voice, "Rescue, fellow soldiers, rescue! See, St. Eadmund comes to slay me!" As he said this, severely stabbed by the saint with a javelin, he fell from the charger on which he sat, and suffering intense pain, he ended his life by a miserable death at evening twilight, in the third of the nones of February [3d Feb.], and was buried at York.

On his death, the naval force of the Danes appointed his son Cnut as their king: but the elders of all England with one consent quickly sent messengers to king Ethelred, saying, that they did and would love no one more than their legitimate lord, if only he would govern them more uprightly or treat them more mildly than he had formerly done. On hearing this, he sent to them his son Eadward with their ambassadors, and graciously saluted the chiefs and inferiors of his nation, promising that he would be to them a mild and devoted sovereign; that in all things he would agree to their wishes and would acquiesce in their counsels; and that whatever had been reproachfully or unbecomingly said or hostilely acted against himself or his friends, he would pardon with a calm mind, provided they all would unanimously and without treachery receive him into the kingdom. To this they all kindly responded; and then a thorough friendship was established on both sides by compact and by words. Besides this, the chiefs unanimously pledged themselves that they would no longer admit a Danish king into England. After these transactions the Angles sent to Normandy, and the king was brought back in the time of Lent, and received with respect by all.

In the meanwhile it was agreed between Cnut and the men of Lindsey, that, horses being provided for his army, they should together make an incursion for plunder. But before they were ready, king Egelred came thither with a powerful army, and having driven out Cnut with his naval force, he devastated and destroyed by fire the whole of Lindsey, and slew all the inhabitants whom he could meet; Cnut, taking refuge in rapid flight, directed his course to the south, and being speedily driven to the port of Sandwich, he set on shore the hostages who had been given from all England to his father, and having cut off their hands, their ears, and their noses, he allowed them to escape, and afterwards he himself departed for Denmark, to return in the following year. In addition to all these evils, king Egelred ordered a tribute of thirty thousand pounds to be paid to the fleet which lay at Greenwich. On the third of the kalends of October [29th Sept.] the sea broke over the shore, and overwhelmed many vills in England, and an innumerable multitude of people.

A.D. 1015. In this year, when a great meeting was held at Oxford, the perfidious duke Edric Streone took by craft into his chamber the illustrious and powerful nobles of the Seven Boroughs, Sigeferth and Morkar, the sons of Earngrim, and there ordered them to be secretly slain. The king took possession of their estates, and ordered Algitha, the widow of Sigeferth, to be taken to the town of Malmesbury. While she was there imprisoned, Eadmund the Atheling came thither, and against his father's will took her for his wife; and between the Assumption [15th Aug.] and the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], setting out to the Five Boroughs, he invaded the land of Sigeferth and Morcar, and subjugated their people to himself. At the same time Cnut, king of the Danes, came with a great fleet to the port of Sandwich, and presently sailing round Kent entered the mouth of the river Frome, and took great booty in Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire. When king Ethelred was lying sick at Cossham, his son Eadmund Atheling on the one side, and duke Edric Streone full of deceit and treachery on the other, levied a large army; but when they came together the duke laid snares for the Atheling in every way, and attempted to destroy him by treachery. When this was discovered they speedily separated, and gave way to the enemy. Not long after, he enticed over to him forty ships of the king's fleet, manned with Danish soldiers, and going over to Cnut he entered into his service. The West Saxons did the same, giving hostages, and afterwards furnished horses to the army.

A.D. 1016. Cnut, king of the Danes, and the perfidious duke Edric Streone, with much cavalry, crossing the river Thames at the place called Cricklade, made an attack upon Mercia before our Lord's Epiphany [6th Jan.], and plundered and burnt many vills in the province of Warwick, and put to death all on whom they laid hands. When Eadmund Atheling, surnamed Ironside, heard of this, he raised an army; but, when it was assembled, the Mercians would not cope with the West Saxons and Danes, unless king Egelred and the citizens of London were with them; wherefore the expedition being given up, every one returned to his place. But after the festival,[1] Eadmund Atheling again raised a larger army, which being assembled, he sent messengers to London begging his father to meet him as soon as possible with all the men whom he could muster. He, gathering many fighting men, speedily met him; but when the armies came together it was intimated to the king, that unless he took care some of his auxiliaries would betray him. On this account, the army being disbanded, he presently returned to London, and the Atheling went into Northumbria, whence some thought that he would yet raise a greater army against Cnut; but as Cnut and Edric on one side, so he and Uhtred earl of the Northumbrians on the other, devastated some provinces; for they laid waste first Staffordshire, then the provinces of Shropshire and Leicestershire, because they would not go out to battle against the host of the Danes. Meanwhile Cnut and Edric Streone ravaged first the provinces of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, and then Northumbria. When this was known to Eadmund Atheling, he left off his pillaging and hastened to his father at London, and earl Uthred speedily returned home, and, forced by necessity, yielded himself, with all the Northumbrians, to Cnut, and gave him hostages; and nevertheless by his order and permission was slain by Turebrand, a Danish nobleman, and with him Turketel, the son of Navena. Having committed this act, Cnut appointed Eiric to be earl in place of Uthred; and afterwards, rapidly turning south by another route, he with his whole army regained their ships before the feast of Easter [1st April].

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[1] Namely, of the Epiphany.

At that time, on Monday, the ninth of the kalends of May [23d April], in the fourteenth indiction, Egelred, king of the Angles, died at London, after a life of many hardships and great tribulations, which on the day of his kingly consecration, after his coronation, St. Dunstan, in the spirit of prophecy, had predicted would come upon him. "Since," said he, "thou hast aspired to the kingdom by the death of thy innocent brother, whom thy infamous mother slew; hear, therefore, the word of the Lord: 'Thus saith the Lord, The sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall rage against thee all the days of thy life, slaying all of thy seed, until thy kingdom shall be transferred to a foreign kingdom, whose manners and whose tongue the nation over whom thou rulest knoweth not. Nor except by long punishment shall thy sin be done away, and the sin of thy mother, and the sin of the men who took part in her wicked counsel.'" His body was buried with honour in the church of St. Paul the Apostle.

After his death the bishops, abbots, dukes, and some nobles of England, assembled together in mutual agreement, and chose Cnut for their lord and king, and coming to him in Hampshire they renounced and repudiated before him all the race of king Egelred; they made peace with him, and swore fealty to him; he also, on his part, swore to them that both before God and the world he would be a faithful sovereign to them. But the citizens of London, and part of the nobles who were at that time in London, with one consent set up Eadmund Atheling as king. He fearlessly ascending the throne, went without delay into Wessex, and being received by all the people with great rejoicing, speedily brought it under his dominion. On hearing of this, many people of the Angles with great speed, of their own accord, submitted to him; but meanwhile, about Rogation-day [7th May], Cnut, with a great fleet, arrived at London. On their arrival they dug a great ditch on the south side of the Thames, and towed their ships to the west side of the bridge. Then, surrounding the city with a wide and deep trench and a blockade, they precluded all ingress or egress, and frequently attempted to take it by storm; but by the brave resistance of the citizens they were driven to a distance from the walls. Therefore raising the siege at that time, and leaving part of their army to guard the ships, they went hastily into Wessex, allowing king Eadmund Ironside no time to raise an army. Nevertheless he, trusting in God, boldly met them with the army which he had collected in so short a time, and encountering them at the place called Pen, near Gillingham, conquered and put them to flight. After this, midsummer being past, having raised anew a larger army than before, he determined to engage bravely with Cnut. He met him in Hwiccia, at the place called Scearstan.

There he arranged his army according to his position and strength, and bringing all his best men to the front, he placed the rest of his army in reserve; and calling each man by name, he exhorted them and besought them to remember that they were fighting for their country, their children, their wives, and their homes; and by an excellent address he stirred up the courage of his soldiers. Then he ordered the trumpets to sound, and the troops to advance steadily. The enemy did the same. When they came where the battle could be commenced, they met under the hostile standards with a great uproar; they fought with spears and swords, and contended with the greatest fury. In the meantime king Eadmund Ironside pressed bravely on, hand to hand, in the first rank; superintended every movement, fought hard himself, struck frequently at the enemy, and fulfilled at one and the same time the duties of a courageous soldier and a prudent commander. But as the most perfidious duke Edric Streone, and Almar the Beloved, and Algar the son of Meu, who ought to have been aiding him with the natives of Hampshire and Wiltshire, were with an innumerable multitude of people on the side of the Danes, his army was too hard pressed. Yet on the first day of the battle, to wit, Monday, so hard and bloody was the fight that each army was unable from fatigue to contend any longer, and when the sun went down and set, they separated of their own accord. But on the next day, the king would have crushed all the Danes, if it had not been for the wiles of the perfidious duke Edric Streone; for when the battle was at its height, and he saw that the Angles had the better, having cut off the head of a certain man named Osmear, who in face and hair resembled king Eadmund, and holding it aloft, he shouted out that the Angles fought in vain, saying, "Fly headlong, ye men of Dorsetshire, Devonshire and Wiltshire, since you have lost your leader. See, here I hold in my hands the head of your sovereign lord, Eadmund; flee with all speed." Which when the Angles heard, they were terrified more by the atrocity of the act than by their belief in the statement of the informer. Whence it happened that some of the more irresolute were very nearly taking flight; but it being immediately ascertained that the king was alive, they plucked up their courage and fell more fiercely on the Danes, and struck down many of them, fighting with their best strength until dusk. At its approach they spontaneously separated, as on the previous day. But when the night had nearly passed, Cnut ordered his men to march silently out of their camp, and taking route for London retreated to the ships, and not long after again besieged London. But when the day had come, and king Eadmund Ironside discovered that the Danes had fled, he returned to Wessex to raise a larger army. His brother-in-law, the perfidious duke Edric, seeing his power, sought him again as his rightful sovereign; and peace being conceded to him, he swore that he would continue loyal. An army then being raised for the third time, the king freed the citizens of London from the siege, pursued the Danes to their ships, and after two days, having crossed the Thames at the place called Brentford, he engaged in battle for the third time with the

Danes, and putting them to flight remained conqueror. On that occasion many of the English people were drowned while crossing the river without caution. The king then hastened to raise a more numerous army in Wessex, whereupon the Danes returned to London, surrounded it by a blockade, and assaulted it on every side; but by God's favour they effected nothing at all. Retreating thence, on this account, with their fleet they entered the river called the Arenne, and being landed, they marched into Mercia to plunder, killed all they met, burned as usual the towns, took the spoil, and then returned to their vessels. The infantry were conveyed in their vessels to the river called the Medway, the cavalry menaced the live booty by land.

Meanwhile king Eadmund Ironside for the fourth time raised a strong army from all England, and at the place where he had formerly crossed the river Thames, he entered Kent rapidly, and joined battle with the Danes near Ottaford. But not being able to support his attack, they turned their backs and fled with their horses into Sheppey. He slew all of them whom he could overtake; and had not the perfidious duke Edric Streone by his fraud and stratagems detained him at Eangelesford [Aylesford], he would that day have obtained a complete victory. On his retiring into Wessex, Cnut threw his forces into Essex, and marched again upon Mercia for the sake of plunder, and ordered his army to commit greater excesses than on former occasions. And they with the utmost readiness fulfilled his command; and after having destroyed all who fell into their hands, burnt very many vills and devastated the land, they hastened to return to their ships enriched with great abundance of plunder. King Eadmund Ironside pursuing them with the army which he had drawn from all England, came up with them as they were escaping at the hill called Assandun, that is, The ass's hill. There he quickly formed his line in three divisions. Then going through all the troops he warned and besought them that they would be mindful of their former valour and victory, and would defend themselves and their kingdom from the rapacity of the Danes, for the contest would be with those whom they had before conquered. Meanwhile Cnut gradually brought down his army to a level place; but king Eadmund quickly advanced his line against him as he had previously formed it, and suddenly gave the signal to attack the Danes. But the perfidious duke Edric seeing the ranks of the Danes wavering, and the Angles about to gain the victory, took to flight with the Magesetas [the men of Hereford] and the part of the army which he commanded, as he had before promised Cnut, and betrayed by his stratagem his sovereign, king Edmund, and the army of the English, and gave the victory to the Danes by his treachery. In that battle fell duke Alfric, duke Godwin, Ulfketel duke of the East Angles, duke Ethelward, son of Ethelwine duke of the East Angles, beloved of God, and nearly the whole band of the nobility of the English, who in no battle ever received a heavier blow than in this. Eadnoth also, bishop of Lincoln [Dorchester], and abbot Wulsy, who had met to beseech God in behalf of the soldiery engaged in the battle, were among the slain.

A few days after this, when king Eadmund Ironside still wished to encounter Cnut, the perfidious duke Edric and some others would on no account allow that to take place, but advised him to make peace with Cnut, and divide with him the kingdom. When at length he agreed, though unwillingly, to their suggestions, messengers passing between them, and hostages being given on each side, the two kings met together at the place called Deorhirst. Eadmund encamped with his men on the west side of the river Severn; Cnut with his men on the east. Then both kings were conveyed in skiffs to an island called Olanege, situated in the middle of the river. Their peace, friendship, and fraternity being confirmed by agreement and oaths, the kingdom was divided; after which they exchanged presents of arms and clothes, and, having settled the tribute to be paid to the naval force, they parted. Yet the Danes returned to their ships with the plunder which they had seized; and the citizens of London, giving a sum of money, made peace with them, and promised that they might winter with them.

After these things, king Eadmund Ironside died at London about the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle [30th Nov.], in the fifteenth indiction, and was buried with his grandfather, king Eadgar the Pacific, at Glastonbury. After his death, king Cnut ordered all the bishops and dukes, and also the princes, and all the nobles of the English nation, to be assembled at London. When they came before him, he artfully interrogated them, like one who did not know, who were the witnesses between him and Eadmund, when they made the agreement of friendship and the division of the kingdom between them; how he and Eadmund had discoursed between themselves about his brothers and sons, whether his brothers and sons should be allowed to reign after their fathers in the kingdom of the West Saxons, in the event of Eadmund dying during his lifetime? And they began to say, that they knew without doubt that king Eadmund would not have entrusted any portion of his kingdom to his brothers, neither while he was alive, nor after his death. And they said they knew this, that king Eadmund wished Cnut to be the helper and protector of his sons until they were of age to govern. But (as God is witness!) they gave false testimony and lied deceitfully, supposing that he would be more favourable to them on account of their lie, and that they would receive from him a large reward. Of these false witnesses some were not long after put to death by the same king. Then king Cnut, after the aforesaid inquiry, endeavoured to obtain from the nobles before mentioned oaths of fealty. And they swore that they would choose him as king, and would cheerfully obey him, and give supplies to his army; and having received a pledge from his bared hand, and oaths from the chief men among the Danes, they altogether cast aside the brothers and sons of Eadmund, and repudiated them as kings. Yet one of the aforesaid Athelings was the illustrious and much revered Edwy, the brother of king Eadmund, whom there with the worst design they condemned to banishment. Now when king Cnut heard the adulation of these men, and the disregard which they expressed for Edwy, he went with great satisfaction into his closet, and calling to him the perfidious duke Edric, he inquired of him in what manner he might be able to entrap Edwy, so as to endanger his life. He in reply said that he knew a man named Ethelward who could very easily put him to death, with whom he might himself hold a conference and promise him an ample reward. The king, when he heard his name, summoned this man to him, addressing him with subtlety: "Duke Edric has told me so and so, saying that you have it in your power to entrap Edwy the Atheling to his death. Only acquiesce in our designs, and you shall obtain all the honour and rank of your fathers; bring me his head, and you shall be dearer to me than my own brother." He said that he would seek him out, and put him to death if by any means he could accomplish it. Nevertheless he had no intention to kill him, but merely promised this as a cloak, for he himself was sprung from the noblest race of the English.

A.D. 1017. In this year king Cnut obtained the government of the whole of England, which he held with power for nineteen years. He divided it into four parts; Wessex he retained to himself, East Anglia to earl Turkill, Mercia to duke Edric, Northumbria to earl Iric. He made a treaty with the nobles and all the people, and they with him, and established by oaths a firm friendship among themselves, laying aside and extinguishing all old enmities. Then, by the advice of the perfidious duke Edric, king Cnut outlawed the Atheling Edwy, the brother of king Eadmund, who was called the King of the Churls. But, at a subsequent period, Edwy was reconciled to the king; and Edwy Atheling, entrapped by the treachery of those whom till then he had counted his dearest friends, was in this year put to death, although guiltless, by the order and desire of king Cnut. Edric also gave counsel that he should slay the young Athelings, Eadward and Eadmund, the sons of king Eadmund. But as it would bring great discredit on him should they be put to death in England, he sent them after a little time to the king of the Swedes to be murdered; but he, although there was a league between them, would by no means agree to his request, but sent them to the king of the Hungarians, named Salomon, in order that they might be educated and their lives preserved. In process of time one of them, namely, Eadmund, ended his days there, but Eadward took in marriage Agatha, daughter of the brother of the emperor Henry [II.], of whom he begat Margaret, queen of Scots, and Christina a nun, and Eadgar Atheling.

In the month of July king Canute took in marriage queen Emma, the relict of king Egelred; by whom he begot king Ardecnut and a daughter Gunilda, who married Henry, emperor of the Romans. And on Christmas-day, when he was at London, he ordered the perfidious duke Edric to be slain in the palace, because he feared lest he might be ensnared by his treachery, as his former sovereigns, Egelred and Eadmund, had so frequently been outwitted; and he ordered his body to be thrown over the wall of the city and left unburied. With him were slain (though they were guiltless) duke Northman,[1] the son of duke Leofwin, the brother of earl Leofric, and Ethelward, son of duke Agelmar, and Brihtric, son of Elfege, a thane of Devonshire. The king appointed Leofric duke in place of his brother Northman, and after that held him in great esteem.

A.D. 1018. In this year seventy-two thousand pounds were paid to the host of Danes from all England, and fifteen thousand[2] from London. Aldun bishop of Durham died. A great battle between the Scots and Angles was fought at Carrum[3] between Huctred, son of Waldef, earl of the Northumbrians, and Malcolm, son of Cyneth, king of Scots, with whom there was in the battle Eugenius the Bald, king of the Cumbrians.[4] The Angles and Danes came to an agreement at Oxford about observing the law of king Eadgar.

A.D. 1019. This year Cnut, king of the Angles and Danes, went to Denmark, and remained there the whole winter.

A.D. 1020. Cnut, king of the Angles, returned to England at the Festival of Easter [17th April], and held a great council at Cirencester. Eadmund received the bishopric of Durham. Living, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, to whom succeeded Agelnoth, named the Good, the son of the noble Agelmar. In the same year the church which king Cnut and earl Turkill had built on the hill called Assandun, was dedicated in their presence with great pomp and ceremony by Wulstan, archbishop of York, assisted by many other bishops.

A.D. 1021. Cnut, king of the Angles and Danes, before the feast of St. Martin [11th Nov.], banished from England the oft-named earl Turkil, with his wife Egitha. Algar, bishop of the East Angles, died; to whom succeeded Aldwin.

A.D. 1022. Agelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, went to Rome, whom pope Benedict [VIII.] received with great honour, and gave him the pall.

A.D. 1023. The body of St. Elfege the martyr was translated from London to Canterbury. Wulstan, archbishop of York, died at York on Tuesday, the fifth of the kalends of June [28th May], but his body was brought to Ely and there buried. To him succeeded Afric the provost of Winchester.

A.D. 1026. Alfric, archbishop of York, went to Rome and received the pall from pope John [XIX]. Richard, second duke of the Normans, died; he was succeeded by Richard the third, who died the same year; to whom succeeded his brother Robert.

A.D. 1027. It being intimated to [Cnut] the king of the Angles and Danes, that the Norwegians held in very low esteem their king Olave, on account of his simplicity and gentleness, his kindness and conscientiousness, he sent to certain of them much gold and silver, beseeching them with many entreaties that, scorning and setting aside their king, they would yield subjection to him and allow him to reign over them. They receiving with great greediness the things which he had transmitted to them, sent a message back to him that they would be ready to receive him whenever he chose to come.

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[1] See Florence, p. 269, note [3].

[2] Florence says, ten thousand five hundred.

[3] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. xl.

[4] "Rex Lutinensium" (Luelensium?); the men of Luel, or the district of Carlisle. See Fordun, IV. xxi. (vol. i. p. 200.)

A.D. 1028. Cnut, king of the Angles and Danes, sailed to Norway with fifty great ships, drove out from it king Olave, and subdued it to himself.

A.D. 1029. Cnut, king of the Angles, Danes, and Norwegians, returned to England; and after the feast of St. Martin [11th Nov.], under pretence of an embassy, he sent into banishment the Danish count Hacun, who had married a noble matron Gunilda, the daughter of his sister and of Wyrcgeorn king of the Winidi; for he feared that he would either be put to death by him or expelled from the kingdom.

A.D. 1030. The aforesaid earl Hacun perished at sea; but some say that he was killed in the isle of Orkney. St. Olave (whom king Cnut had driven out), the king and martyr, was iniquitously put to death in Norway by the Norwegians.

A.D. 1031. Cnut, king of the Angles, Danes, and Norwegians, went with great pomp to Rome, and bestowed upon St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, large gifts in gold and silver, and other precious articles; and obtained from pope John [XIX.] that the school of the Angles should be freed from all tribute and custom; and in going and returning he laid out large alms on the poor, and abolished (by paying a great price) many gates on the road where toll was exacted from strangers; and before the tomb of the apostles he vowed to God that he would amend his life and conversation.

A.D. 1032. This year the church of St. Eadmund, king and martyr, was dedicated, and king Cnut having ejected the priests out of it, placed monks therein. Fire prevailed in many places through England. Elfsige, bishop of Winchester, died; Elfwin, the king's priest, succeeded him.

A.D. 1033. Leofsy, bishop of Worcester, a man of great humility and piety, died in the episcopal vill of Kemesey, on Tuesday, the fourteenth of the kalends of September [19th August], and passed, as it is meet to believe, to the kingdom of heaven. His body was reverently buried in the church of St. Mary, at Worcester. To his see was raised Brithteg, abbot of Pershore, sister's son to Wulstan, archbishop of York.

A.D. 1034. Malcolm, king of Scots, died, and Machethad succeeded him.

A.D. 1035. Cnut, king of the Angles, before his death, appointed his son Suane king over the Norwegians; over the Danes he placed as king Hardecnut, his son and queen Emma's; and he appointed his son Harold, born of Elgiva of Hampshire, king of the Angles; and afterwards in this year, on Wednesday, the second of the ides of November [12th Nov.], he departed this life at Shaftesbury. He was buried with much ceremony in the Old Minster at Winchester. After his funeral, queen Algiva settled there; but Harold, having attained the royal dignity, quickly sent his guards to Winchester, and tyrannically took away from her the greater and better part of the treasures and wealth which king Cnut had left her, and sent her off plundered just as she had begun to reside there. And then with the consent of very many of the nobles of England, he himself began to reign as the rightful heir; but not so powerfully as Cnut, because Hardecnut was regarded as the heir by greater right. Wherefore, a short time after, the kingdom of England was divided by lot, and the north part fell to Harold, the south to Hardecnut. Robert, duke of the Normans, died; to whom succeeded, at a boyish age, his son William the Bastard.

A.D. 1036. The innocent Athelings, Alfred and Eadward, sons of Agelred, formerly king of the English, bringing with them many Norman soldiers, transported in a few ships, came from Normandy (where they had continued a long time with their uncle Richard) to England, on a visit to their mother, who was dwelling at Winchester. At this some of the nobles were indignant and offended, because, though it was unjust, they were much more devoted to Harold than to them; and chiefly, as it was said, earl Godwin. He indeed detained and placed in close confinement Alfred, as he was hastening towards London to a conference with Harold, as he had ordered. Some of his companions he dispersed; some he put in fetters and afterwards blinded; some he tortured by scalping, and by cutting off their hands and feet; many he ordered to be sold; and slew six hundred men at Guildford by various and cruel deaths. But now we may believe that their souls rejoice with the saints in Paradise, whose bodies without crime perished so cruelly on earth. On hearing of this, queen Elgiva with great speed sent back to Normandy her son Eadward, who remained with her. Then by the order of Godwin and some others, the Atheling Alfred was carried heavily chained to the isle of Ely; but, as soon as the ship reached the land, immediately his eyes were there most cruelly torn out, and then he was taken to the monastery and delivered to the custody of the monks. Here, a short time after, he departed from this world, and his body was buried with due honour in the south aisle, at the west end of the church, while his soul enjoys the bliss of paradise.

A.D. 1037. Harold, king of the Mercians and Northumbrians, was chosen by the princes and all the people to reign over the whole of England; but Hardecnut was altogether cast off, as he wasted his time in Denmark, and delayed coming to England as he was asked. In the beginning of winter his mother Algiva, formerly queen of the Angles, was without pity driven out of England, and was carried over to Flanders in a boat hurriedly got ready, and was received with respect by the noble count Baldwin. He, as became such a man, made it his business freely to supply her needs as long as occasion required. A little before, in the same year, died Avicus, dean of Evesham, a man of much piety.

A.D. 1038. Agelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life on the fourth of the kalends of November [29th Oct.]; on the octave of his death Agelric, bishop of Sussex, died; for he had besought of God that he might not long continue in this world after the death of his dearly beloved father Agelnoth. Grimketel succeeded him in the episcopate. Edsy, the king's chaplain, succeeded Agelnoth in the archbishopric. Also in the same year, on Wednesday, the thirteenth of the kalends of January [20th Dec.], died Brihteg, bishop of Worcester, to whom succeeded Living.

A.D. 1039. There was a very severe winter this year. Brithmar, bishop of Lichfield, died, to whom succeeded Wulsy. Hardecnut, king of the Danes, sailing to Flanders, came to his mother Elgiva. Harold, king of the Angles, son of king Cnut, died.

A.D. 1040. Harold,[1] king of the Angles, died at London, and was buried in Westminster. After his burial the nobles of almost all England sent ambassadors to Hardecnut at Bruges, where he was staying with his mother; and, thinking that they were acting rightly, asked him to come to England, and take the sceptre of the kingdom. He, having prepared fifty ships and manned them with Danish soldiers, sailed to England before midsummer, and was gladly received by all, and presently raised to the throne of the kingdom; but in the course of his government he never did anything worthy of the royal dignity, for no sooner had he begun to reign than, not unmindful of the injuries which his predecessor Harold (who was reckoned his brother) had inflicted either on himself or on his mother, he sent to London Alfric, archbishop of York, earl Godwin, Styr, the steward of the household, Edric his steward, Trouhd his executioner, and other men of great rank, and ordered the body of Harold to be dug up and thrown into a sewer, and after it had been thrown there he ordered it to be dragged out and cast into the Thames. But after a short time it was taken by a fisherman and brought in haste to the Danes, and by them was buried with respect in the cemetery which they had in London. After this, he ordered that eight marks should be paid over all England to each rower of his fleet, and twelve to each helmsman; a tribute so heavy that scarcely any one could pay it. On which account he became in the highest degree odious to all those who at first so greatly desired his coming. Besides this also, he was inflamed with great anger against earl Godwin, and Living, bishop of Worcester, on account of the death of his brother Alfred; Alfric, archbishop of York, and some others accusing them. Wherefore he deprived Living of the bishopric of Worcester, and gave it to Alfric; but in the following year he took it from Alfric, and graciously restored it to Living, to whom he was reconciled. Godwin, in order to obtain the king's favour, gave him a well-built galley with a gilded bow, furnished with the best stores, and handsomely supplied with suitable arms, and manned with eighty chosen soldiers; each of whom had on his arms two golden bracelets weighing seventeen ounces, a triple coat of mail, on his head a helmet partly gilt, at his side a sword with a gilded hilt, a Danish axe adorned with gold and silver hanging at his left shoulder, in his left hand a shield, the boss and spikes of which were gilt, in his right a spear, which in the language of the Angles is called "ategar." Moreover, he swore to the king that his brother had not been blinded by his design or will, but that his sovereign king Harold, with the chiefs and nobles of superior rank of almost all England, had ordered him to do what he did.

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[1] Harold Harefoot having died upon 17th March, 1039, some uncertainty appears to have arisen in the minds of chronologists as to whether that event was to be ascribed to 1039 or 1040; hence the double entry.

A.D. 1041. In this year Hardecnut, king of the English, sent his house-carles through all the provinces of his kingdom, to exact the tribute which he had imposed. Two of whom, namely Feadar and Turstan, were slain by the provincials of Worcester with the citizens (a tumult having broken out), for they had fled for concealment to a chamber of a certain turret of the monastery of Worcester. This occurred on Monday, the fourth of the nones of May [4th May]. Wherefore the king, greatly enraged, in revenge for their death sent thither Thuri, earl of the people of the midland districts, Leofric, earl of the Mercians, Godwin, earl of the West Saxons, Siward, earl of the Northumbrians, Roni, earl of the Magesetas [the people of Herefordshire], and the other earls of all England, and almost all his house-carles, with a great army (Alfric was still the bishop of Worcester), and gave them orders that they should, if possible, slay all the men, plunder and burn the city, and lay waste the whole province. On the eve of the ides of November [12th Nov.] they began to ravage both the city and the province, and continued to do so for four days; but they took or killed few either of the citizens or provincials, because having got notice of their approach, the inhabitants had fled elsewhere. And a number of the citizens had taken refuge on a little island situated in the middle of the river Severn, called Beverege, where, throwing up a defence, they so long and manfully maintained themselves against their enemies, that at last, peace being restored, they were freely permitted to return home. Then on the fifth day, having burned the city, every man returned with much spoil to his own neighbourhood, and the wrath of the king was quickly appeased. Not long after, Eadward, the son of Egelred, former king of the Angles, came to England from Normandy, where he had been many years in exile, and being received with honour by his brother, king Hardecnut, abode in his palace.

A.D. 1042. At a feast at the place called Lambeth, in which Osgod Clapa, a man of great influence, gave his daughter Githa, with great rejoicings, in marriage to Tovy, surnamed Pruda, a very powerful Dane, Hardecnut, king of the English, while he stood drinking sound and merry with the said bride and some other men, suddenly, in the midst of his drinking, fell to the ground heavily, and so remaining speechless, expired on Tuesday, the sixth of the ides of June [8th June], and being carried to Winchester, was buried beside his father, king Cnut. His brother Eadward, mainly by the aid of earl Godwin, and Living, bishop of Worcester, was raised to the throne at London. He was the son of Egelred, who was the son of Eadgar, who was the son of Eadmund, who was the son of Eadward the elder, who was the son of Elfred. Bishop Eadmund[1] died; to whose see Edred succeeded by means of money, and died in the tenth month.

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[1] Bishop of Durham. See Simeon's History of that church, chap. xliv.

A.D. 1043. Eadward was anointed king at Winchester, on Easter day, the third of the nones of April [3d April], by archbishop Edsy of Canterbury and Alfric of York, and the other prelates of almost all England. In the same year, fourteen days before the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle [16th Nov.], the king came unexpectedly from the city of Gloucester to Winchester, with the earls Leofric, Godwin, and Siward; and, as they had advised him, he took from his mother whatever valuables she had in gold and silver, gems, precious stones and other property, because, either before he was king or after, she had given him less than he wanted, and had been very hard upon him.

On the death of Eadmund, Egelric received the bishopric of Durham, while Siward administered the earldom of the Northumbrians.

A.D. 1044. Alwold, bishop of London, who before and during his episcopate had presided as abbot over the monastery of Evesham, being no longer able on account of infirmity to govern his see, desired to reside at Evesham; but the brethren of that place would on no account agree to it. Wherefore, carrying off most part of the books and ornaments which he had himself bestowed on that place, and, as some say, what others had bestowed also, he retired to the monastery of Ramsey, and bestowed all that he brought on St. Benedict; and there he settled; and in this year, on Wednesday, the eighth of the kalends of August [25th July], he died, and was there buried. At a general council held at that time at London, Wulmar, a religious monk of Evesham, also called Mannus,[1] was elected to preside as abbot over his monastery, and was consecrated on Friday, the fourth of the ides of August [10th Aug.]. In the same year the noble matronGunhilda,[2] the daughter of king Wortgern and king Cnut's sister, and the widow of earls Hacun and Harold, was banished from England, with her two sons Hemmung and Turkill. Sailing to Flanders, she spent some time at the place called Bruges, and then went to Denmark.

A.D. 1045. Brithwold, bishop of Wells, died, to whom succeeded Hermann, the king's chaplain, born in Lorraine. In this year Eadward, king of the Angles, assembled a very powerful fleet at the port of Sandwich, against Magnus, king of the Norwegians, who was preparing to attack England, but war declared against him by Suane, king of Denmark, put a stop to his expedition.

A.D. 1046. Living, prelate of the Hwiccians [Worcester], Devon, and Cornwall, died on Sunday, the tenth of the kalends of April [23d March]; after whose death the bishopric of Crediton and Cornwall was immediately given to the king's chancellor Leofric, a Briton; and Aldred, who was first a monk of Winchester, and then abbot of Tavistock, received the bishopric of Worcester. Osgod Clapa was banished from England. Magnus, king of the Norwegians, having put to flight Suane, king of the Danes, the son of St. Olave king, subdued Denmark to himself.

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[1] The Nag (?)

[2] She was the daughter of Wyrtgeorn, king of the Wends; concerning whom see Lappenb. ii. 215.

A.D. 1047. So heavy a snow fell in the west as to break down the trees. Alwin, bishop of Winchester, died, to whose see Stigand was raised. Suane, king of the Danes, sent his ambassadors to Eadward, king of the Angles, and begged him to send a fleet to him against Magnus, king of the Norwegians. Then earl Godwin advised the king to send at least fifty ships manned with soldiers; but as that did not seem advisable to earl Leofric and all the people, he would not send any. After this, Magnus, king of the Norwegians, strengthened by a large and powerful fleet, fought a battle with Suane; and many thousands being killed on both sides, he drove him from Denmark, and afterwards reigned there, and compelled the Danes to pay him an immoderate tribute; and not long after he died.

A.D. 1048. Suane recovered Denmark, whereupon Harold Harvager (son of Siward, king of the Norwegians, and on the mother's side brother of St. Olave and uncle of king Magnus) returned to Norway, and a short time after sent ambassadors to king Eadward, and asked and obtained peace and alliance with him. A great earthquake occurred on Sunday, the kalends of May [1st May], at Worcester, Wic, Derby, and many other places. A mortality of men and animals pervaded many provinces of England; and aerial fire, commonly called forest fire, burnt vills and many crops in the province of Derby and some other provinces.

A.D. 1049. Leo was the hundred and forty-fifth pope. He is that Leo who made the new hymn about the pope St. Gregory. The emperor Henry raised an innumerable army against Baldwin, earl of Flanders, chiefly because he had stormed and burnt his very beautiful palace at Nimeguen. In that expedition pope Leo was present, and very many nobles and honourable men from various countries. Also Suane, king of the Danes, as the emperor commanded him, was present with his fleet, and swore fealty to the emperor on that occasion. He sent also to Eadward, king of the Angles, and begged him not to allow Baldwin to escape if he fled to the sea. On this account the king went with a great fleet to the ports of Sandwich, and remained there until the emperor had obtained from Baldwin all that he wished.

In the meanwhile, earl Suane, the son of earl Godwin and Gytha, (who had before left England because he could not marry Eggiva, abbess of Leominster, whom he had seduced, and had gone to Denmark, falsely asserting that he would in future continue loyal to the king,) returned with eight ships. Earl Beorn, the son of his uncle the Danish earl Ulf, the son of Spracling, the son of Urse, and brother of Suane king of the Danes, promised him that he would obtain from the king the restoration of his earldom. When therefore peace was restored between the emperor and earl Baldwin, earls Godwin and Beorn sailed with the king's leave to Pevensey with forty-two ships, and retaining a few ships there with him, he [the king] ordered the rest of the fleet to return home. When he was informed that Osgod Clapa lay at Ulpe with twenty-nine ships, he recalled as many as he could of the ships that he had sent off. And Osgod having recovered his wife, whom he had sent to Bruges, returned to Denmark with six ships. The others, making an attack on Essex, were returning with no little booty seized about Eadulf's Cape; but on their return a fierce storm assailed them, sunk them all except two ships, which were taken in foreign parts, and all their crew was slain. While these events took place, earl Suane came to Pevensey, and treacherously asked his cousin, earl Beorn, to go with him to the port of Sandwich, and (as he had promised) effect his reconciliation with the king. He, confiding in his relationship, set out to go with Suane, only taking three companions with him. But he took Beorn to Bosanham [Bosham] where his ships were, and putting him on board a vessel ordered him to be bound with tight thongs, and kept him with him until he came to Dartmouth. Having there slain him, the six ships left him, thrown into a deep pit and covered with earth; of which ships the men of Hastings soon after took two, and putting the crews to death, brought the ships to Sandwich and gave them up to the king. Suane escaping with two ships to Flanders, remained there until Aldred, bishop of Worcester, brought him back and reconciled him with the king.

This year pope Leo, at the request of the very pious abbot Hermar, came to France in company with the emperor and some of the principal men of the city of Rome; and he consecrated[1] with great pomp the minster of St. Remigius, the apostle of the Franks, built at Rheims; and afterwards held in that city for six days a great council of archbishops, bishops and abbots; at which were present Aldwin, abbot of Ramsey, and the abbot of the monastery of St. Augustine, who were sent thither by Eadward, king of the Angles.

A.D. 1050. Macbethad, king of Scots, scattered his silver at Rome; Edsy, archbishop of Canterbury, died; to whom succeeded Rodbert, bishop of London, a Norman by descent. Hermann, bishop of Wiltshire, and Aldred, bishop of Worcester, went to Rome.

A.D. 1051. Elfric, archbishop of York, dying at Southwell, was buried in the minster at Malmesbury; the king's chaplain Kinsy succeeded him. King Eadward freed the Angles from the heavy tax, to wit eighty thousand pounds, thirty-eight years after his father had first ordered it to be paid to the Danish soldiers. In the month of September following, Eustace the elder, earl of Boulogne, who had married king Eadward's sister, Goda, landed with a few ships at Dover, where his soldiers stupidly and rashly seeking quarters for themselves, killed one of the citizens. A fellow-citizen who saw this revenged it by slaying a soldier. The earl and his men hereupon becoming highly enraged, killed with their weapons a number of men and women, and trod boys and infants under their horses' feet. But when they saw the citizens assemble to resist them, they with difficulty escaped, with a loss of seven of their companions, by taking to a cowardly flight; and they fled to king Eadward, who was then staying at Gloucester. Earl Godwin, greatly offended and enraged that such things had happened in his county,[2] gathered a numberless army from all his earldom, namely from Kent, Sussex, and Wessex; as did his eldest son Suane[1] from his, namely from the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and Berkshire; and his other son Harold from his earldom, that is, the provinces of Essex,[2] East Anglia, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. This became known to king Eadward. Sending messengers immediately to Leofric and Siward, earls of the Mercians and Northumbrians, he begged them to hasten to him, as he was in great peril, with all the men they could raise. They came to him at first with a few soldiers; but when they found what was the state of affairs, they sent swift posts through all their earldoms, and levied a large army. Also earl Rodulph,[3] the son of king Eadward's sister, Goda, gathered as many as he could from his county. Meanwhile, Godwin and his sons, after the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], marched with their force into the province of Gloucester and pitched their camp at Langtree; and sending messengers to the king at Gloucester, they demanded under a threat of battle the surrender of earl Eustace and his comrades, and moreover all the Normans and Boulognese who held possession of the castle at Dover. The king was for a while alarmed at this, and in a great strait, and did not very well know what to do. But when he found that the army of earls Leofric, Siward, and Rodulph was at hand, he stoutly replied that he would on no account give up Eustace and the others whom they demanded. On hearing this, the messengers returned empty handed. As they departed, the army entered Gloucester, so excited and unanimously eager for battle, that, if the king would have allowed, they would have gone out at once to fight with Godwin's army. But since some of the best men of all England were gathered on the one side or the other, it seemed to earl Leofric and some others a great mistake to engage in battle with their fellow-countrymen; but that hostages being given on each side, the king and Godwin should meet on an appointed day to settle matters at London.

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[1] Upon 2d Oct. 1049 (see Jaffé, p. 369); the synod commenced upon the day following.

[2] He was earl of Kent, Dugd. Baron. i. 13.

This counsel being approved, and messengers passing between them, the hostages were given and received, and the earl returned to Wessex. The king raised a larger army from all Mercia and Northumbria, which he took with him to London: and Godwin and his sons came with a great multitude of West Saxons to Southwark; but as his army fell away from him by degrees, he was afraid to engage in conference with the king, but fled on the following night. Therefore, the next day, the king in council, with the unanimous agreement of the whole army, pronounced sentence of banishment against him and his sons. He with his wife Gytha, and Tosti with his wife Judith, the daughter of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and his two other sons Suane and Gyrth, went in haste to Thorney, where his ship lay ready. Hurriedly putting on board as much gold and silver and other valuables as it could carry, and quickly embarking, they directed their course to Baldwin, earl of Flanders. Then his sons Harold and Leofwin going to Bristol, embarked in a ship which their brother Suane had got ready for them, and sailed across to Ireland. The king divorced queen Eadgitha on account of his displeasure against her father, Godwin; and sent her very unceremoniously to Wherwell,[1] with only one waiting maid, and committed her to the charge of the abbess. After this the Norman earl William came with a number of Normans to England. The king received him and his companions honourably, and sent him back to Normandy gifted with many and great donations.

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[1] Dugd. Baron. i. 18.

[2] Id. i. 16.

[3] Goda, the sister of king Edward, married Drogo of Mantes; and upon his death, Eustace of Boulogne. Anderson's Genealog. p. 740. He was created earl of Hereford by Edward the Confessor. Dugd. Baron. i. 21.

A.D. 1052. Elgiva Emma, the wife of kings Egelred and Cnut, died on the second of the nones of March [6th March], at Winchester, and was there buried. In the same year Griffyn, king of the Welsh, devastated great part of the province of Hereford. The men of that province and several Normans from the castle went up against him; but many of them being slain, he got the victory, and carried off with him great spoil. This battle took place on the same day on which, thirteen years before, the Welsh put to death by treachery Edwin the brother of earl Leofric.

A short time after this, earl Harold and his brother Leofwin returning from Ireland entered the mouth of the river Severn with many ships, and landing on the borders of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, plundered many vills and lands in those parts. A great many men, gathered from Devonshire and Somersetshire, went out against them; but Harold overcame them, slaying more than thirty noble thanes, with many others. He then returned to his vessels with the booty, and then sailed round Penwithsteort [Land's End]. Then king Eadward sent quickly forty ships well supplied with provisions and chosen soldiers to the port of Sandwich, with orders to keep out of sight and watch the approach of earl Godwin. But yet he, unknown to all, returning with a few ships, landed in Kent, and secretly sending messengers, enticed to his assistance first the Kentish men, then the men of Sussex, Essex, Surrey, and all the shipmen of Hastings, and many others on all parts of the coast. These all with one mouth promised that they would be ready to live or die with him. When this news reached the king's fleet, which was lying at the port of Sandwich, they pursued him; but he made his escape by flight, and concealed himself where he could; so they sailed back to the port of Sandwich, and thence returned to London. When this was known, earl Godwin sailed back to the Isle of Wight and hovered about the coast until his sons Harold and Leofwin joined him with their fleet. But from the time of this junction they desisted from plunder and pillage, yet took supplies for their army as occasion demanded. After alluring to their aid all whom they could collect on the coast and other places, and gathering with them all the shipmen whom they met, they directed their course towards the port of Sandwich. When they came there, king Eadward was then staying in London, and he was informed of their arrival. He, quickly sending messengers to all who had not revolted from him, ordered them to hasten to his assistance; but they were exceedingly dilatory, and did not come in time. Meanwhile, earl Godwin with his fleet sailing up the Thames against the current, came on Monday, the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [14th Sept.], to Southwark, and there waited for the flowing of the tide. In the meantime he had conferences with some citizens of London whom he had previously enticed by various promises, and managed that almost all were willing to do whatever he wished. Afterwards all things were settled and arranged; at the flow of the tide they quickly weighed anchor, and, no one resisting them on the bridge, they sailed upward along the south bank of the river. The land army also came, and taking a position on the bank of the river, formed a solid and imposing front. He then turned the fleet to the north bank, as if to surround the king's fleet (for the king had a fleet and a numerous land army), but since there were very few there who exhibited any courage, either with the king or with Godwin, except a few Englishmen, they were almost all very averse to fight with their friends and fellow countrymen. Wherefore some of the wiser sort on each side, effecting a reconciliation between the king and the earl, ordered the army to be disbanded. In the morning, then, the king held a council, and fully restored their original rank to Godwin, his wife, and all his sons except Suane. For he, brought to repentance for having murdered his cousin Beorn (as we before related[1]), had gone barefoot from Flanders to Jerusalem, and on his return home, died in Lycia of an illness brought on by excessive cold. The king also took back with honour the earl's daughter, queen Edgitha, and reinstated her in her former dignity. Harmony being thus restored, and peace established, both parties promised all the people just legislation, and outlawed all the Normans who had brought in iniquitous laws, pronounced unjust decisions, and given the king many evil counsels against the English. But they allowed a few to remain in England, namely Robert the deacon, and his son-in-law Richard Fitz-Scrob, and Alvered the king's master of the horse, and Anfrid, surnamed Cocksfoot, and some others who were greater favourites with the king than the rest, and who had been faithful to him and all the people. Moreover, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, and William, bishop of London, and Ulf, bishop of Lincoln,[2] barely escaping with their Normans, crossed the sea. But William, being soon after recalled on account of his goodness, was restored to his see. Osbern, surnamed Pentecost, and his companion Hugh gave up their castles; and going with the leave of earl Leofric through his earldom to Scotland, were received by Macbeoth, king of the Scots. In the same year, on the night of the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle [21st Dec.], there was so great and strong a wind as to destroy many churches and houses, and to break or tear up by the roots innumerable trees.

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[1] See Dugd. Monast. i. 156.

A.D. 1053. The brother of Griffin, king of the South Welsh, named Res, was put to death, on account of the frequent robberies which he committed, by order of king Eadward, at the place called

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[1] See p. 534.

[2] That is, Dorchester.

Bulendum; and his head was brought to the king at Gloucester, on the eve of our Lord's Epiphany [5th Jan.]. In the same year, at the celebration of the second day of the Easter festival [Easter Monday, 12th April], at Winchester, the final catastrophe happened to earl Godwin, when he was seated (as usual) by the king at table; for, suddenly struck by an acute disease, he fell speechless in his seat. His sons, earl Harold, Tosti, and Gyrth, seeing this, carried him into the king's chamber, hoping that he might shortly recover from his illness. But he became utterly powerless, and died on the fifth day after, being the seventeenth of the kalends of May [15th April], and was buried in the Old Minster. His son Harold received his dukedom, and Harold's earldom was given to Algar, son of earl Leofric.

A.D. 1054. Siward, the valiant duke of the Northumbrians, by king Edward's order, went to Scotland with an army of cavalry and a powerful fleet, and fought a battle with Macbeoth, king of Scots; and having slain many Scottish soldiers and all the Normans whom we mentioned above, he routed Macbeoth, and, as the king directed, appointed Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians, king. Yet in that battle his own son, and many of the Angles and Danes, fell.

On the death of Godwin, abbot of Winchelomb, Aldred, bishop of Worcester, on the feast of St. Kenelm [17th July], appointed as abbot in his place Godric, the son of Godman, the king's chaplain. Afterwards the same bishop was sent by the king on an embassy with great presents to the emperor; by whom, and by Hermann, archbishop of Cologne, he was received with great honour, and stayed there a whole year; and he suggested to the emperor on behalf of the king that he should send an embassy to Hungary and bring back his nephew Eadward, the son namely of Eadmund Ironside, and cause him to come to England.

A.D. 1055. Siward, duke of the Northumbrians, died at York, and was buried in the monastery of Galmanho, which he had built; his dukedom was given to Tosti, duke Harold's brother. Not long after, at a council held at London, king Eadward outlawed (for no crime) earl Algar, son of earl Leofric. He went immediately to Ireland, and having procured eighteen piratical vessels, he returned, and went to Griffin, king of the Welsh, and begged him to give him aid against king Eadward. Griffin immediately levied a large army from the whole of his kingdom, and directed Algar to meet him and his army at an appointed place with his forces. Having united their forces, they entered the province of Hereford, to devastate the English marches. The cowardly duke Rodulph, Eadward's sister's[1] son, raised an army, and met them two miles from the city of Hereford on the ninth of the kalends of November [24th Oct.], and (contrary to their custom) he ordered the English to fight on horseback. But as they were about to join battle, the earl with his French and Normans took to flight at the first; and the English seeing this, followed their leader in his retreat. Almost all the enemy pursued them, and killed of them four or five hundred men, and wounded many. Having thus obtained the victory, king Griffin and earl Algar entered Hereford and killed seven canons who defended the doors of the principal church, and burnt the monastery which that true servant of Christ, bishop Ethelstan, had built, with all its ornaments and the relics of St. Agelbert, king and martyr, and of other saints; and after having killed some of the citizens, and taken many prisoners, and likewise plundered and burnt the city, they retreated enriched with abundance of booty. When the king was informed of this, he ordered an army to be speedily raised from the whole of England; over which, when it assembled at Gloucester, he appointed the valiant duke Harold. Harold faithfully acting according to orders, actively pursued Griffin and Algar, and having boldly entered the territories of the Welsh, he pitched his camp beyond Straddale. Knowing him to be a warlike and brave man, and being afraid to engage in battle with him, they retreated into South Wales. When he found this, he there disbanded the greater part of his army, counselling them bravely to resist their enemies if occasion required; and returning with the rest of the number to Hereford, he girt it with a broad and high wall, and strengthened it with gates and bars. In the meanwhile, messengers passing between Griffin and Algar, and Harold, and those who were with them, they met at the place called Byligesleage, and peace being mutually given and received, they made a firm alliance among themselves. This being settled, earl Algar's fleet was brought to Chester, and waited for the pay which he had promised them, while he himself went to the king and received from him his earldom. At that time died the religious man Tremerin,[1] the Welsh bishop; he was for some time deputy for bishop Ethelstan of Hereford, after the latter had become unable in person to fulfil the episcopal office; for he was blind for thirteen years. Hermann, bishop of the province of Wiltshire, offended that the king would not allow him to transfer the episcopal see from the vill called Ramesbury to the abbey of Malmesbury, resigned his bishopric, and crossing the sea assumed the monastic habit at St. Bertin, and there remained in that monastery for three years.

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[1] See p. 535, note [2].

A.D. 1056. Henry [III.], emperor of the Romans, died, and was succeeded by his son Henry [IV]. Ethelstan, bishop of Hereford, a man of great sanctity, died on the fourth of the ides of February [10th Feb.], at the episcopal vill called Bosanbyrig; his body was conveyed to Hereford and buried in the church, which he had built from the foundations. Leofgar, duke Harold's chaplain, succeeded him; who, on the sixteenth of the kalends of July [16th June] in the same year, was slain with his clerks, and Agelnoth the sheriff, and many others, by Griffin, king of the Welsh, at the place called Glastbyrig: he occupied the see eleven weeks and four days. After his death the see of Hereford was committed to Aldred, bishop of Worcester, until a bishop should be appointed. After this the same bishop, and earls Leofric and Harold, reconciled Griffin, king of the Welsh, with king Eadward. Earl Agelwin, a lover of churches, a reliever of the poor, a defender of widows and orphans, a helper of the oppressed, a preserver of chastity, who, before his death, was made a monk by Aldred, bishop of Worcester, departed on the second of the kalends of September [31st Aug.], at Deorhyrste, and rests honourably interred in the monastery at Pershore. Agelric, bishop of Durham, voluntarily relinquishing his see, retired to his monastery called Burh [Peterborough], where he was educated and made a monk, and passed twelve years there. His brother Agelwine, a monk of the same monastery, succeeded him in his see.

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[1] He was bishop of St. David's. See Hardy's Le Neve, i. 289, 455.

A.D. 1057. The Atheling Eadward, son of king Eadmund Ironside, as his uncle king Eadward enjoined him, came to England from Hungary, where long previously he had been sent into exile, as we have said before. For the king had determined to make him heir of the kingdom after himself: but he departed this life at London a short time after his arrival. The praiseworthy earl Leofric, son of duke Leofwin, a man of illustrious memory, died in a good old age in his own vill called Bromleage, on the second of the kalends of September [31st Aug.], and was honourably buried at Coventry; which monastery (among other good deeds of his life) he and his wife, the noble countess Godiva, a servant of God and a devout lover of St. Mary the ever virgin, built from the foundations out of their own means, and had sufficiently endowed it with lands, and so enriched it with various ornaments, that in no monastery in England could there be found so great an abundance of gold and silver, gems and precious stones, as at that time was contained therein. They enriched also with costly ornaments the convents of Leominster and Wenlock, and the monasteries of St. John Baptist and St. Wereburg the Virgin, at Leicester, and the church which Eadnoth, bishop of Lincoln, built at the famous place called in English St. Mary's Stow, or St. Mary's place. They also enriched the monastery of Worcester with lands, and that of Evesham with buildings, divers ornaments, and lands. As long as he lived, the wisdom of this earl was of great benefit to the kings and all the people of England: his son Algar received his dukedom. Heca, bishop of the South Saxons, died; in whose place Agelric, a monk of Christ's church in Canterbury, was elected.

A.D. 1058. Algar, earl of the Mercians, was a second time outlawed by king Eadward; but by the help of Griffin, king of the Welsh, and the assistance of a Norwegian fleet which had come to him unexpectedly, he quickly recovered his earldom by force. Aldred, bishop of Worcester, nobly dedicated in honour of Peter, the prince of the apostles, the church which he had built from the foundations in the city of Gloucester; and afterwards, by leave of the king, he appointed thereto as abbot Wulstan, a monk of Worcester, whom he himself had ordained. Then, resigning the prelacy of the church of Wiltshire, which had been committed to his government, and transferring it to Hermann before mentioned, he crossed the sea and went through Pannonia, now called Hungary, to Jerusalem, a thing which none of the archbishops or bishops of England is known to have done till then.

A.D. 1059. Nicolas, bishop of the city of Florence, was elected pope, and Benedict driven out. Kinsi, archbishop of York, and Egelwin, bishop of Durham, and Tosti, earl of York, conducted king Malcolm to king Eadward.

A.D. 1060. Henry, king of the Franks, died, whose eldest son Philip succeeded him. Duduc, bishop of Wells, died, and Gisa, the king's chaplain, succeeded him; both of whom were natives of Lorraine. Kinsi, archbishop of York, died at York, on the eleventh of the kalends of January [22d Dec.]; his body was taken to the monastery called Burh [Peterborough], and honourably buried. In his place Aldred, bishop of Worcester, was elected on Christmas day; and the bishopric of Hereford, which had been committed to him on account of his activity, was given to Walter of Lorraine, queen Egitha's chaplain.

A.D. 1061. Aldred, archbishop of York, went to Rome with earl Tosti, and received the pall from pope Nicolas. Meanwhile, Malcolm, king of Scots, furiously ravaged the earldom of his sworn brother earl Tosti, and violated the peace of St. Cuthbert in the island of Lindisfarne. In the same year pope Nicolas died, and Alexander succeeded him, being the hundred and forty-ninth pope.

A.D. 1062. The venerable man Wulstan was appointed bishop of the church of Worcester. He, beloved of God, was born of religious parents in the country of the Mercians, in the province of Warwick,—his father's name being Eastan and his mother's Wulfgeova; he was excellently instructed in learning and ecclesiastical duties in the monastery called Burh [Peterborough]. Both his parents were of so religious a disposition, that, long before the end of their life, they professed chastity and separated from each other, and delighted to end their days in the conversation of a holy living. The youth himself, instigated by their example, chiefly by the persuasion of his mother, gave up the world, and he received the monastic habit and order, in the same monastery of Worcester in which his father had before served God, from the venerable Brihteg, bishop of that church, by whom also he was ordained to the rank of deacon and priest; and immediately, at the very outset, embracing a life severe and full of devotion, he at once became distinguished in vigils, fastings, prayers, and every species of virtue. Hence, on account of his moral training, he was at first appointed for some time master and guardian of the children. After that, on account of his skill in ecclesiastical duties, he was made, by direction of the elders, at the same time precentor and treasurer of the church. And as the church was thus committed to him, he obtained thereby the opportunity of serving God more freely; and thus he gave himself altogether up to a life of meditation, continuing in it day and night, in prayer or the reading of the Scriptures; he reduced his body by fasts of two or three days' duration; and so devoted was he to sacred vigils, that as he passed without sleep not only a day and a night, but sometimes (which we could scarcely believe unless we had heard it from his own mouth) four days and nights, he ran the risk of his brain being almost dried up, unless he quickly satisfied nature by a snatch of slumber. And even when compelled by the power of nature to sleep, he did not indulge his body by slumber in a bed and blankets, but merely lay down for a little while on any bench of the church, supporting his head with the book from which he had been praying or reading. After some time, on the death of Agelwin, the prior of the monastery, this reverend man was appointed by bishop Aldred,[1] prior and father of the congregation. Discharging this office in the most commendable manner, he by no means gave up the severity of his former mode of life; nay, he in many ways increased it, in order to set others an example how to live aright. Then, in the course of a few years, this Aldred, bishop of the church of Worcester, being elected to the archbishopric of the church of York, there was a unanimous agreement both of the clergy and all the people in his election, king Eadward consenting that they should elect a bishop of their own choice. It so happened at that time that legates from the apostolic see were also present in his election; namely Armenfred,[2] bishop of Sion, and another, who being sent by the lord pope Alexander [XI.] on ecclesiastical business to Eadward king of the Angles, were, by order of the king, staying at Worcester for nearly the whole of Lent, waiting until the king's court should meet on the following Easter, for the reply to the business of their embassy. They observing during their stay there his laudable conduct, not only agreed in his election, but particularly instigated both clergy and laity to it, and confirmed that election by their own authority. But he most obstinately refused, declaring himself unworthy, and even affirming with an oath that he would much more readily yield to be beheaded than take such a high appointment; when often and repeatedly besieged on this matter by many religious men and venerable persons, he could by no means be persuaded to consent, till at length being sharply reproved for his disobedience and obstinacy by a recluse man of God, by name Wulsius, who was known to have led a solitary life for more than forty years, and being also put in fear by a divine miracle, with great grief of heart he was compelled to consent; and his election was canonically confirmed, and he received the bishopric on the day of the beheading of St. John Baptist [29th Aug.], and being consecrated on the day on which the nativity of St. Mary is celebrated by the church [8th Sept.], he shone as bishop of the church of Worcester, illustrious in life and virtues. He was consecrated bishop by Aldred, archbishop of York; for Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was at that time interdicted from the episcopal office by the apostolic sovereign, because he had presumed to take the archbishopric while archbishop Robert was yet living; his canonical profession was made, however, not to his consecrator Aldred, but to the aforesaid Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, through the intervention of Stigand himself, on account of the claims of his successors, the archbishop of York, his consecrator, was ordered to make a declaration before the king and nobles of the realm, that he would thenceforward claim no right over him of ecclesiastical or secular subjection, either on account of his having consecrated him or made him a monk before his consecration. This consecration of his took place when he was above fifty years of age, in the twentieth year of king Eadward, and in the fifteenth indiction.

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[1] Aldred, bishop of Worcester, was promoted to York, 25th Dec. 1060 (see above), with permission to retain Worcester; but the pope compelled him to resign Worcester, which he did in A.D. 1061. Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 49.

[2] Ermenfred, bishop of Sion (a diocese in France in the archbishopric of Tarentaise), occupied that see from A.D. 1055 to 1079. See Gall. Christ. xii. 740.

A.D. 1063. After Christmas, by order of king Eadward, Harold, the brave duke of the West Saxons, taking with him a small company of cavalry, set out to Rudelant in great haste from Gloucester, where the king was then staying, for the purpose of slaying Griffin, king of the Welsh, on account of the frequent ravages which he carried on in the territories of the Angles, and the insults which he had frequently offered to his lord king Eadward. But Griffin having warning of his approach, fled with his men, got on board a vessel, and with difficulty made his escape. Harold, when he found that he had escaped, gave orders to set fire to his palace, and to burn his ships with their stores, and returned the same day. But about the Rogation days [25th May] sailing with a naval armament from Bristol, he circumnavigated the greater part of the land of the Welsh. His brother, earl Tosti, met him by the king's orders with an army of cavalry, and then they began to devastate that region; whereupon the Welsh (also called Britons) were compelled to yield and give hostages; and they promised to pay tribute; and having outlawed their king Griffin, they renounced him.

A.D. 1064. Griffin,[1] king of the Britons, was put to death by his own men on the nones of August [5th Aug.], and his head, and the head of his ship with its adornment, were sent to earl Harold, who speedily presented them to king Eadward. When this was done, the king gave the land of the Britons to his brothers Blechgent and Rithwallan. They swore fealty to him and to earl Harold, and promised that they would be at their command by sea and land, and that they would obediently pay all that had been previously paid from that land by former kings.

A.D. 1065. The reverend man, Agelwin, bishop of Durham, disinterred the bones of St. Oswin, formerly king of the Bernicians, in the monastery situated at the mouth of the river Tyne, four hundred and fifteen years after their burial, and placed them with great honour in a shrine. Harold, the valiant duke of the West Saxons, in the month of July, ordered a great building to be erected in the land of the Britons, at the place called Portaskith, and directed to be collected there great provision of food and drink, in order that his sovereign king Eadward might sometimes live there for the purpose of hunting; but Caradoc, (son of Griffin, king of the South Welsh, whom Griffin, king of the North Welsh, had slain some years before, and had invaded his kingdom,) with all the men he had at his command, came thither on the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle [24th Aug.], and slew almost all the workmen, with those who were over them, and carried off all the property which was there collected. Then after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, on Monday, the fifth of the nones of October [3d Oct.], the Northumbrian thanes Gamilbarn, Dunstan the son of Agelnoth, Gloineorn the son of Heardulf, with two hundred soldiers, came to York; and on account of the accursed slaughter of the noble Northumbrian thanes, Gospatric,—whom queen Egitha, for the sake of her brother Tosti, had treacherously ordered to be slain in the king's court, on the fourth night of Christmas [28th Dec.],—and Gamel the son of Orn, and Ulf the son of Dolfin, (whom in the preceding year earl Tosti had treacherously ordered to be slain in his chamber at York, under an agreement of peace;) and also on account of the immensity of the tribute which he unjustly took from the whole of Northumbria, on the same day,—he first put to death without the walls of the city, his Danish housecarls, Amund and Ravensheart, whom they took in flight; and, on the following day, they slew two hundred men of his officials on the north side of the river Humber. They also broke into his treasury, and retreated, after having carried off all of his that was there. Almost all his county having assembled together, afterwards met at Northampton Harold, duke of the West Saxons, and others, whom, at Tosti's request, the king had sent to them to restore peace. Where first, and afterwards at Oxford, on the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude [28th Oct.], and when Harold and many others wished to reconcile Tosti with them, they all with one consent refused, and outlawed him, and all who had encouraged him to establish an unjust law; and after the feast of All Saints [1st Nov.], by the aid of earl Edwin, they drove Tosti from England. He at once went with his wife to Baldwin, count of Flanders, and passed the winter at St. Omers; and by the king's order, Morkar[1] was elected earl over the Northumbrians. After this, king Eadward fell by degrees into bad health. On Christmas-day he held his court as well as he could at London, and on Holy Innocent's day [28th Dec.] he caused to be consecrated with great pomp, the church which he had built from the foundation, in honour of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles.

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[1] See Annales Cambriæ, ap. Petrie, p. 840.

A.D. 1066. The glory of the Angles, the pacific king Eadward, son of king Ethelred, after presiding in royal dignity for twenty-three years, six months, and twenty-seven days, over the Anglo-Saxons, died at London in the fourth indiction, on Thursday, the day before the nones of January [5th Jan.], being the eve of the Epiphany; and, being interred on the morrow in royal fashion, was deeply lamented with tears by all who were there present. After his funeral, the under-king Harold, son of duke Godwin, whom the king before his decease had chosen as the successor to his kingdom, was by the princes of all England elected to the royal dignity; and on the same day was solemnly consecrated king by Aldred, archbishop of York. He was no sooner placed at the helm of government than he began to abolish unjust laws, and to frame just ones; and to be a supporter of churches and monasteries; he favoured, and at the same time revered, bishops, abbots, monks and clerics: he showed himself loving, humble and affable to all good men, but evil-doers he held in detestation. For he ordered the dukes, magistrates and sheriffs, and his ministers in general, to seize thieves, robbers and disturbers of the kingdom, and he himself laboured earnestly for the defence of the country by land and by sea.

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[1] He was the younger son of Algar, earl of Chester. See Dugd. Baron. i. 6.

In the same year, on the eighth of the kalends of May [24th April], a comet was seen not only in England, but, as it is said, over the whole world, which shone with exceeding splendour for seven days. Not long after this, earl Tosti returning from Flanders, landed at the Isle of Wight, and after compelling the islanders to pay tribute and fine, he departed, and went along the coast to the port of Sandwich, committing ravages. When this was known, king Harold, who then abode at London, ordered a large fleet and an army of cavalry to be assembled; and he prepared to go in person to the port of Sandwich. Tosti being informed of this, withdrew, carrying with him certain of the shipmen, of whom some went willingly, but others by constraint, and directed his course to Lindoria,[1] where he burnt many vills, and put to death a number of men. On hearing of these doings, Edwin, duke of the Mercians, and Morkar, earl of the Northumbrians, hastened with an army, and drove him out of that district. Retreating thence he went to Malcolm, king of Scots, and abode with him all the summer. King Harold in the meanwhile went to the port of Sandwich, and there waited for his fleet; when it had assembled, he went to the Isle of Wight. And as William, earl of the Normans, the cousin of king Eadward, was preparing to come with an army to England, he kept watch the whole summer and autumn for his arrival. Also, with a view to this, he stationed an army of infantry at convenient places on the coast. But when the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.] had come, provisions growing scarce, both the naval and land force returned home.

After these events, Harold Harvager,[2] king of the Norwegians, brother of king Olave the saint, came unexpectedly to the mouth of the river Tyne with a very powerful fleet, to wit, more than fifty great ships. Earl Tosti, with his fleet, met him there as he had before agreed, and with a quick voyage they entered the mouth of the river Humber, and so sailing up the river Ouse they landed at the place called Richale, and took York after a hard struggle. When king Harold learnt this, he rapidly marched his troops towards Northumbria. But before the king arrived, on Wednesday the vigil of St. Matthew the Apostle [20th Sept.], the brother earls Edwin and Morkar, with a large army, joined battle with the Norwegians at Fulford, near York, on the northern bank of the river Ouse, and at the first onset of the fight they overthrew many; but after a long continuance of the contest, the Angles, unable to resist the force of the Norwegians, turned their backs not without some loss of their men, and many more of them were drowned in the river than fell in the field. The Norwegians were masters of the field of slaughter, and taking five[3] hundred hostages from York, and leaving there a hundred and fifty hostages of their own men, they retired to their vessels.

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[1] That is, Lindsey. See Florence of Worcester, p. 295.

[2] See Florence, p. 295, note [1].

[3] Florence of Worcester, p. 296, says one hundred and fifty.

But on the fifth day after this, that is, Monday, the seventh of the kalends of October [25th Sept.], Harold, king of the Angles, came to York with many thousand fighting men, provided with weapons of war; and meeting the Norwegians at the place called Stamford-bridge, slew with the edge of the sword king Harold and earl Tosti, with the greater part of their army, obtaining a full victory, although it was very severely contested. But Tosti's son, Olave, and an earl from the isle of Orkney, named Paul, who had been sent with part of the army to guard the ships, he freely permitted to retire to their country with twenty ships and the rest of the army, having first received from them hostages and oaths.

In the meantime, while these events were occurring, and the king imagined that all his enemies were crushed, he was told that William, king Eadward's cousin, and earl of the nation of the Normans, had arrived with an innumerable multitude of horses, slingers, and archers, (for he had hired strong auxiliaries from the whole of France,) and had brought his fleet to the place called Pevensey. Wherefore the king immediately marched his army towards London with great speed, and although he well knew that in the two battles some of the bravest of all England had fallen, and that half of his army had not yet come up, he did not hesitate to meet the enemy as quickly as he could, in Sussex; and he came to an engagement with them nine miles from Hastings, where they had fortified a castle, on Saturday, the eleventh of the kalends of November [22d Oct.], before a third part of his army had joined him. But as the English were drawn up in a narrow place, many withdrew themselves from the ranks, and very few of those who remained with him continued firm at heart. But yet from the third hour of the day till twilight he most powerfully resisted his enemies; and so bravely and stoutly did he defend himself in the fight, that he could hardly be slain by the hostile troops. But after very many on both sides had perished, alas! he himself fell at the time of twilight. His brothers also, Gyrth and Leofwin, were slain, and the most illustrious of almost all England. Earl William returned with his men to Hastings.

King Harold reigned nine months and as many days. Earls Edwin and Morkar, who with their men had withdrawn themselves from the contest, when they heard of his death went to London, and taking their sister, queen Aldgitha, they sent her to the city of Chester. Aldred, archbishop of York, and the same earls, with the citizens of London and the shipmen, wished to appoint as king the Atheling Eadgar, grandson of king Eadmund Ironside; and they promised to take up arms in his behalf. But when many were ready to go out to battle, the earls withdrew their aid from them, and returned home with their army.

Meanwhile, earl William overran Sussex, Kent, Hampshire, Surrey, Middlesex, and Hertford, and continued burning vills and slaying men, until he reached the vill called Berkhamptstead; where there came to him Aldred archbishop of York, Wulstan bishop of

Worcester, Walter bishop of Hereford, the Atheling Eadgar, the earls Edwin and Morcar, and some of the principal men of London, with many others, and having given hostages they made submission and swore fealty to him. He likewise made a treaty with them; yet, nevertheless, he allowed his army to burn the vills and pillage. At the approach of Christmas he went with his army to London, and was there elevated to the throne. And because Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was charged by the apostolic pope with not having received the pall canonically, on Christmas-day (which that year fell on Monday) he was solemnly consecrated at Westminster by Aldred archbishop of York, having first done what that same archbishop required of him—namely, promised by oath before the altar of St. Peter the Apostle, in presence of the clergy and people, that he would defend the holy churches of God and their rulers, and would govern the whole of the people subject to him justly and with royal care; that he would enact and preserve just laws; and would strictly prohibit depredations and unjust decisions.

In order that the original cause of William's invasion of England may be known, the events which happened before that event may briefly be recapitulated. A grievous disunion having arisen between king Eadward and earl Godwin, (as has already been said,) the earl with his friends were banished from England. When he afterwards requested the king's permission to return to his country, he would on no account consent, unless Godwin would give hostages for his personal security. Wherefore, Godwin's own son, Wulnoth, and his son Suane's son, Hacun, were given as hostages, and were consigned in Normandy to the custody of earl William the Bastard, son of Robert, the son of Richard, his mother's brother. Some time after this, when earl Godwin was now dead, his son Harold begged the king's permission to go to Normandy and liberate his brother and nephew, who were detained there as hostages, and to bring them back with him in freedom to this country. "That," said the king to him, "shall not be done through my instrumentality; nevertheless, that I may not seem desirous to place obstacles in your way, I permit you to go where you choose, and try what you can do. Yet I foresee that your proceeding will tend to nothing else than the injury of the whole English kingdom, and your own disgrace; for I know the earl not to be so senseless as to give them up to you in any way unless he should perceive that it would be greatly to his own advantage." So Harold embarked in a vessel, which being driven by a violent storm into the river of Ponthieu, called the Maia, was adjuged by the lord of that country (according to the custom of the place) to bondage to him. Harold then being put in confinement, privately sent one of the populace, allured by the promise of a reward, to earl William, to relate what had befallen him. On hearing this, he speedily sent messengers with directions to the lord of Ponthieu, that Harold with his men should be sent to him free from all injury as quickly as possible, if he wished still to preserve the ancient alliance hitherto existing between them. But as he was unwilling to release the man, he received a second mandate from William, that he must needs let

Harold go, otherwise he might make himself very sure that William earl of Normandy would enter Ponthieu in arms, for the purpose of carrying off him and his to the last farthing. Alarmed at these threats, he sent the man with his companions, who was received by William with much respect; and replied to him, when he heard why he left his country, that his affair would prosper well if William put no obstacle in his way. So he kept him with him some days, and was very kind and hospitable towards him, in order that by this means he might engage his heart in his projects. At length he discovered to him what were his intentions. He told him, therefore, that long ago while they were both young, king Eadward, when staying with him in Normandy, had promised on his fidelity, that if ever he became king of England he would transmit the authority of the kingdom to him by hereditary right after himself. He then craftily said, "If you will promise me your assistance in this matter, and that you will make a fort at Dover with a well of water for my use, and that you will give your sister whom I may marry to one of my nobles, and will bind yourself to me at the time that we shall agree upon, and moreover, will take my daughter for your wife,—then you shall at once receive your nephew safe, and your brother also, when I come to reign in England. In which kingdom if I am established by your aid, I promise that you shall obtain all that you can reasonably ask of me." Harold perceived the full extent of his danger, and saw no means of escape unless he submitted in all things to the will of William. He yielded therefore. William then, that all might be made sure, bringing forward the relics of the saints, induced Harold to take an oath upon them, that he would fully perform all that had been settled. This being accomplished, Harold, having received his nephew, returned to his country. When, in answer to the king's inquiries, he told him what had happened, and what he had done; "Did I not tell you," said Edward, "that I knew William; and that very great evils to this kingdom might be the result of that expedition of yours? I foresee that from this deed of yours great calamities will come upon our nation; and I pray the love of heaven to grant that they may not happen in my days." King Eadward died soon after, and, according to the appointment which he had made before his death, Harold succeeded him in the kingdom. William sent to tell him that although he had violated his promise by not observing the other points, yet he would patiently endure this if only he would take his daughter to wife, otherwise he might be undoubtedly convinced that William would vindicate for himself by arms the promised succession to the kingdom. Harold replied, that neither would he do the one nor did he dread the other. Highly indignant at the injustice done by Harold, William was animated on this account with a great hope of victory. Preparing therefore a large fleet, he invaded England with nine hundred ships, and in a severe pitched battle Harold fell in fight, and William the Conqueror obtained the kingdom. Of which battle the Franks who were engaged yet testify, that although partial successes happened to each side, yet so great was the slaughter and flight of the Normans, that the victory which they obtained was truly and without doubt to be ascribed to the judgment of God; who, by punishing the crime of perjury, showed that He was a God who would not look upon iniquity.

A.D. 1067. On the approach of Lent,[1] William returned to Normandy, taking with him Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, Agelnoth abbot of Glastonbury, Eadgar the Atheling, the earls Edwin and Morkar, Walthev son of duke Siward the noble thane; Agelnoth of Canterbury, and many others of the nobles of England; leaving, as regents of the kingdom, his brother Odo bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osbern, whom he had appointed earl in the province of Hereford; and he ordered the castles everywhere to be fortified. Wulsy bishop of Dorchester (or Lincoln) died at Winchester, but was buried at Dorchester.

At that time lived a certain very powerful thane, Edric, surnamed the Forester, the son of Alfric, brother of Edric Streone. The garrison of Hereford and Richard Fitz-Scrob frequently laid waste his land, because he scornfully refused to give it up to the king. But as often as they assailed him they lost many of their knights and squires. The same man Edric, therefore, calling to his aid the kings of the Welsh, to wit, Blethgent and Ritwad, about the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], overran Hereford as far as the bridge of the river Lucge, and carried off great spoil. After this, as winter was coming on, William returned from Normandy to England, and imposed an insufferable tax on the English. Then, making a hostile expedition to Devonshire, he besieged and speedily took by storm the city of Exeter, which the citizens and some English thanes held against him; but the countess Githa, the mother of Harold, king of the English, and sister of Suane, king of the Danes, with many of the citizens, escaped by flight, and went to Flanders: the citizens gave pledge and submitted themselves to the king.

A.D. 1068. Two popes were made at Rome; namely the bishop of Parma, who was expelled, and the bishop of Lucca, who remained pope. After Easter [23d March], the countess Matilda came from Normandy to England, and on Whitsunday [11th May], Aldred, archbishop of York, consecrated her queen. After this Marleswen and Gospatric, and some nobles of the Northumbrian race,—to avoid the severity of the king, and dreading that like others they might be put in confinement, taking with them Eadgar Atheling and his mother Agatha, with his two sisters Margaret and Christina,—went by sea to Scotland, and there, by the favour of Malcolm, king of Scots, they passed the winter. King William went with his army to Nottingham, where he fortified the castle, and then marched to York, where he fortified two castles, and placed in them five hundred soldiers, and ordered castles to be fortified at Lincoln and other places. While this occurred, Godwin, Eadmund and Magnus, the sons of king Harold, returning from Ireland, landed in Somerset. Eadnoth, who had been king Harold's master of the horse, met them with an army, and, engaging in battle with them, was slain with many others. Having gained the victory, they returned to Ireland, with no little spoil from Devon and Cornwall.

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[1] Ash-Wednesday fell upon 21st Feb.

A.D. 1069. The convent of St. German, at Selby, was founded. In the third year of his reign, king William sent earl Robert, surnamed Cumin,[1] to the Northumbrians on the north side of the Tyne. But they all united in one feeling not to submit to a foreign lord, and determined either that they would put him to death, or that they all would fall together by the edge of the sword. Agelwin, bishop of Durham, met him at his approach, and forewarned him to beware of the snares laid for him. But he, thinking that no one would be so daring, despised the warning. Entering Durham with a large body of soldiers, he allowed his men to act everywhere in a hostile manner, even slaying some of the yeomen of the church; but he was received by the bishop with all courtesy and honour. But the Northumbrians, marching all night with haste to Durham, at dawn burst the gates with great force, and slew on every side the earl's men, who were taken unawares. The affair was conducted with great ferocity, the soldiers being killed in the houses and the streets. They then proceeded to attack the bishop's dwelling in which the earl had been received; but not being able to withstand the javelins of the defenders, they burnt the house with its inhabitants. So great was the multitude of the slain, that almost all parts of the city were flowing with blood; for of seven hundred men none but one escaped. This slaughter took place on Wednesday, the fifth of the kalends of February [28th Jan.].

In this year, before the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], Harold and Cnut, sons of Suane, king of the Danes, and their uncle, earl Osbern, and their bishop, Christian, and earl Turkill, coming with two hundred and forty ships from Denmark, landed at the mouth of the river Humber. There they were met by Eadgar Atheling, earl Walthev, and Marlesswein, and many others, with a fleet which they had provided. Earl Cospatric was there also, with the whole strength of the Northumbrians, who all assembled with one consent against the Normans. At the approach of all these, Aldred, archbishop of York, becoming very timid, fell into great weakness, and in the tenth year of his episcopate, on Friday, the third of the ides of September [11th Sept.], ended his life, as he had besought God, and was buried in the church of St. Peter. On the eighth day after this, namely on Saturday, the thirteenth of the kalends of October [19th Sept.], the Normans who garrisoned the castles, fearing lest the houses which adjoined the castles might be of use to the Danes in filling up the moats, commenced setting them on fire. The conflagration increasing exceedingly, seized on the whole of the city, and with it consumed the monastery of St. Peter. But this was speedily and severely visited upon them by the divine vengeance. For before the whole city was burnt, the Danish fleet arrived on the Monday, and the Danes assailing the castles on one side, the Northumbrians on the other, they took them by storm the same day. And more than three thousand of the Normans being slaughtered, and William Malet,[1] who then held the office of sheriff, with his wife and two children, and Gilbert de Gant,[2] and a very few others being preserved alive, the Danes returned to their ships with untold spoils, and the Northumbrians to their abodes. When this was made known to king William, he speedily assembled an army, and hastened to Northumberland in great anger, and did not cease for the whole winter from ravaging the country, slaughtering the men, and performing many other acts of ferocity. In the meanwhile, sending messengers to the Danish earl Osbern, he promised that he would privately give him a considerable sum of money, and would allow his army full liberty of seizing supplies on the coast,—provided this were laid down as a condition, that, when the winter was over, they should depart without coming to hostilities. Osbern hereupon, being greedy of the gold and silver, yielded to his wishes, not without great disgrace to himself.

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[1] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. L.

In consequence of the Normans having plundered England,—in the preceding year [A.D. 1068] Northumbria and some other provinces, but in the present and following year [A.D. 1069, 1070] almost the whole realm, yet principally Northumbria and the adjacent provinces,—so great a famine prevailed that men, compelled by hunger, devoured human flesh, that of horses, dogs, and cats, and whatever custom abhors; others sold themselves to perpetual slavery, so that they might in any way preserve their wretched existence; others, while about to go into exile from their country, fell down in the middle of their journey and gave up the ghost. It was horrific to behold human corpses decaying in the houses, the streets, and the roads, swarming with worms, while they were consuming in corruption with an abominable stench. For no one was left to bury them in the earth, all being cut off either by the sword or by famine, or having left the country on account of the famine. Meanwhile, the land being thus deprived of any one to cultivate it for nine years, an extensive solitude prevailed all around. There was no village inhabited between York and Durham; they became lurking places to wild beasts and robbers, and were a great dread to travellers.

While the king was doing such deeds as these around and near York, Agelwin bishop of Durham, and the chiefs of the people, fearing lest, on account of the slaughter both of the earl and of the Normans at York, the king's sword should include equally the innocent and the guilty in indiscriminate slaughter, with one consent betook themselves to flight,[3] on Friday, the third of the ides of December [11th Dec.], carrying with them the uncorrupted body of the holy father Cuthbert. They made their first stay at Jarrow, their second at Bedlington, the third at Tughall, and the fourth at Holy Island. But about evening, when the full tide would prevent travellers from crossing over, behold by its sudden recess it left the approach clear for them; so that neither when they hurried did the waves of the sea linger behind them, nor when they delayed did they press upon them. But when they reached the land, lo! the sea coming up covered the whole sands as before. In the meanwhile the king's army, which had spread over all the places between the Tees and the Tyne, found only one continued solitude; the dwellings being everywhere deserted, and the inhabitants seeking safety in flight, or lying hid in the woods or the fastnesses of the mountains. Then, too, the church of St. Paul at Jarrow was destroyed by fire; the church of Durham, deprived of all care and ecclesiastical service, became a den for the poor, the infirm, and the sick, who no longer being able to fly, there lay perishing of hunger and disease. When spring was at hand, the king returning to the south of the Humber, bishop Agelwin with all the people, having passed three months and some days in Holy Island, returned with the treasure of that sacred body, arranging their resting-places on their return as they had in going; and on the eighth of the kalends of April [25th March], the church being first cleansed from all pollution, and reconciled by the pontifical offices and benediction, making their entrance, they restored the sacred corpse to its place with hymns and praises.

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[1] See Dugd. Baron. i. 110.

[2] Id. i. 400.

[3] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. l.

A.D. 1070. By the advice of William, earl of Hereford,[1] and some others, at the time of Lent,[2] king William ordered the monasteries of the whole of England to be searched, and the money which the richer English had there deposited, on account of his harshness and rapacity, to be carried off and stored up within his treasury. Bishop Egelwin returning from flight was contemplating a final escape. For, observing that the affairs of the Angles were everywhere in confusion, and dreading the heavy rule of a foreign nation, whose language and customs he knew not, he determined to resign his bishopric, and provide for himself wherever a stranger might. A ship, therefore, furnished with the necessary supplies, lay ready for him in the harbour of Wearmouth, waiting for a favourable wind. There were also there, at that time, some other ships under the command of Edgar Atheling, with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Cristina, Siward Barn, Marlesswein, Alfwin the son of Norman, and many others, who, after the storming of the castle of York, (the Danes who had been their auxiliaries, having returned to their own country,) were in dread of the king's indignation against themselves, and were preparing to go as refugees into Scotland, and awaited there a prosperous voyage. During the same time a countless multitude of Scots marched through Cumberland under the command of king Malcolm, and turning to the east, ravaged with fierce devastation the whole of Teesdale, and the parts bordering it on each side. And when they came to the place called in English Hundredeskelde, that is, The hundred springs, having there slaughtered some nobles of the English nation, the king (keeping part of the army), sent part home by the way they came with a vast booty. By this craftiness he designed that when the wretched natives (who, from fear of the enemy, had hid themselves in whatever lurking-places they could find safety) should return to their villages and homes, supposing the enemy to have altogether departed, he might by a sudden inroad come upon them unawares.

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[1] Dugd. Baron. i. 66.

[2] In 1070, Ash-Wednesday fell upon 17th February.

And this happened accordingly. For having pillaged Cleveland in part, by a sudden foray he seized Holderness, and thence, savagely overruning the territory of St. Cuthbert, he deprived all of their whole property, and some also of their lives. Then he destroyed by fire, under his own inspection, the church of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, at Wearmouth. He burnt also other churches, with those who had taken refuge in them. When he was riding along the banks of the river, beholding from an eminence the cruel exploits of his men against the unhappy English, and feasting his mind and eyes with such a spectacle, it was told him that Edgar Atheling and his sisters, who were beautiful girls of the royal blood, and many other very rich persons, fugitives from their homes, lay with their ships in that harbour. When they came to him with terms of amity, he addressed them graciously, and he pledged himself to grant them and all their friends a residence in his kingdom as long as they chose. Amidst these pillagings and depredations of the Scots, earl Gospatric (who, as before has been said, had obtained for money from king William the earldom of Northumbria) having called in some bold auxiliaries, made a furious plundering attack upon Cumberland. Having done this with slaughter and conflagration, he returned with great spoil, and shut himself, with his allies, into the strong fortress of Bamborough; from which making frequent sallies, he weakened the forces of the enemy; for Cumberland was at that time under the dominion of king Malcolm, not held by right, but subjugated by force. Having heard (while still gazing on the church of St. Peter as it was being consumed by the fire of his men) of what Gospatric had committed against his people, scarcely able to contain himself for fury, he ordered his troops no longer to spare any of the English nation, but either to smite all to the earth, or to carry them off captives under the yoke of perpetual slavery. Having received this licence, it was misery even to witness their deeds against the English. Some aged men and women were beheaded with the sword; others were thrust through with pikes, like swine destined for food; infants snatched from their mother's breasts were thrown high into the air, and in their fall were received on the points of lances and pikes thickly placed in the ground. The Scots, more savage than wild beasts, delighted in this cruelty, as an amusing spectacle. These children of the age of innocence, suspended between heaven and earth, gave up their souls to heaven. Young men also and maidens, and whoever seemed fit for toil and labour, were bound and driven before the face of their enemies, to be reduced in perpetual exile to slaves and bondmaids. Some of these females, worn out by running in front of their drivers further than their strength would bear, falling to the earth, perished even where they fell.

Seeing these things, Malcolm was yet moved to pity by no tears, no groans of the unhappy wretches; but, on the contrary, gave orders that they should be still further pressed onward in the march. Scotland was, therefore, filled with slaves and handmaids of the English race; so that even to this day, I do not say no little village, but even no cottage, can be found without one of them.

After Malcolm's return to Scotland,[1] when bishop Egelwin was commencing his voyage towards Cologne, a contrary wind arising soon drove him back to Scotland. Thither also it bore with a favourable course Edgar Atheling, with his companions before named. King Malcolm, with the consent of his relatives, took in marriage Eadgar's sister, Margaret, a woman noble by royal descent, but much more noble by her wisdom and piety. By her care and labour the king himself, laying aside the barbarity of his manners, became more gentle and civilized. Of her he begat six sons, Eadward, Eadmund, king Eadgar, king Alexander, Ethelred, and king David, and two daughters, Matilda queen of the English, and Mary, whom Eustace count of Bologne took in marriage. In Easter-week a great council was held at Winchester, by order and in the presence of king William, and by the consent of the lord pope Alexander, his authority being represented by his legates—Hermenfred, bishop of Sedun [Sion], and John and Peter, presbyter cardinals of the apostolic see.[2] In this council Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was degraded for three causes; to wit, because he had unlawfully held the see of Winchester in conjunction with the archbishopric; and because not only had he taken the archbishopric whilst archbishop Robert still lived, but also had for some time, in celebrating mass, used the pall of the latter which had remained at Canterbury, when he was violently and unjustly driven from England; and lastly, because he had received a pall from Benedict, whom the holy Roman church had excommunicated, because that personage had acquired the apostolic see by simony. Several abbots were also there degraded, the king making it his business, that as many as possible of the English should be deprived of their rank, in place of whom he might substitute natives of his own nation, in order to further the establishment of his newly acquired kingdom. For this reason also he deprived both bishops and abbots of their dignities, without any apparent ground of condemnation either by councils or secular laws, and kept them confined in prison to the very end of their lives; actuated, as we have said, merely by mistrust towards his newly acquired kingdom. While other timorous persons in this council, knowing the king's disposition, were trembling lest they should be deprived of their dignities, that venerable man, Wulstan bishop of Winchester, stoutly pleaded for, and demanded the restoration of, several estates of his see, which had been kept in his possession by archbishop Aldred when he was translated from the church of Worcester to York, and which at his decease had come into the possession of the king; and he, therefore, urged that justice should be done both by those who presided at the council and by the king himself. But because the church of York was silent, not having a pastor who could plead in its behalf, it was decided that this suit should remain over until the appointment of an archbishop who could defend the church and answer his suit, so that the trial might be conducted plainly and justly by the opponent and respondent.

On Whitsunday [23d May], the king at Windsor gave the archbishopric of York to the venerable Thomas, canon of Bayeux, and the bishopric of the church of Winchester to Walcelin, his chaplain. Immediately by his order on the morrow, the aforesaid Hermenfrid, bishop of Sion, held a synod; the cardinals John and Peter, whom we have already mentioned, having returned to Rome. In this synod Agelric, bishop of the South Saxons, was uncanonically degraded, and the king, for no crime whatever, afterwards put him in prison at Marlborough. Many abbots were also degraded; and on their deprivation the king gave to his chaplains, Arfast the bishopric of the East Angles, and to Stigand that of the South Saxons. To some Norman monks also he gave abbeys. And because the archbishop of Canterbury was deposed, and the archbishop of York deceased, by command of the king, Walcelin was consecrated in the octave of Whit-Sunday [30th May] by the same Armenfred, bishop of Sion, the legate of the apostolic see.

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[1] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. lii.

[2] See this volume, p. 542, note [2].

Just at the feast of St. John the Baptist [24th June], earl Osbern went to Denmark with the fleet which had wintered in the river Humber, but his brother Suane, king of the Danes, outlawed him, on account of the money which, contrary to the desire of the Danes, he had accepted from king William. That very brave man, Edric, surnamed the Forester, of whom mention has been before made, was reconciled with king William.

After these things the king summoned from Normandy, Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, a Lombard by birth, a very learned man in every respect, well skilled in the knowledge of all liberal arts, and in divine as well as secular literature; and equally wise in the counsel and management of worldly affairs. On the day of the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.] he appointed him archbishop of the church of Canterbury, and on Sunday, being the feast of St. John the Baptist,[1] he caused him to be consecrated at Canterbury. So he was consecrated by bishops Gyso of Wells, and Walter of Hereford, both of whom were ordained at Rome by pope Nicholas, when Aldred, archbishop of York, had received the pall. For they avoided being consecrated by Stigand, who then ruled over the archbishopric of Canterbury, because they were aware that he had not canonically received the pall. Herman also, bishop of Salisbury, with some others, was present at his consecration. Then Lanfranc consecrated Thomas archbishop of York. When these matters were accomplished, then the suit of the venerable Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, was again mooted,—for Thomas had now been consecrated bishop, and could plead for the church of York,—and was brought to an issue at a council held at Pedreda before the king, and Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops, abbots, earls and nobles of all England, insomuch that the man of God, Wulstan, not only recovered the estates sued for and demanded, but also, God granting and the king yielding, received his church, and with the same liberties by which it had been enfranchised by its founder and their successors.

A.D. 1071. Lanfranc and Thomas went to Rome, and received the pall from pope Alexander. Earls Edwin and Morkar secretly fled from the court because king William wished to put them in confinement, and were for some time in rebellion against him. But when they saw that the undertaking in which they had embarked had not gone prosperously for them, Edwin determined to go to Malcolm, king of Scots; but on his way, suffering from the treachery of his own men, he was slain; Morkar, and the very valiant man Hereward, went by ship with many others to the Isle of Ely, intending to winter there. Agelwin also, bishop of Durham, and Siward, surnamed Barn, sailing back from Scotland had arrived there. But hearing of this, the king with his mariners on the east side of the island debarred them from all exit, and on the west side he ordered a bridge to be constructed two miles long; but they seeing themselves thus blockaded ceased from opposition, and all gave themselves up to the king, except Hereward, who with a few men made his escape through the marshes. He soon sent bishop Agelwine to prison at Abingdon, where he ended his days that winter. The earl, and the others dispersed throughout England, he partly placed in confinement, and part he allowed to depart, having cut off their hands or put out their eyes. The king appointed Walcher bishop of the church of Durham, from a clerk of the church of Liege, (for he had come over on the invitation of the king himself,) illustrious in birth, upright in character, endowed with the grace of sacred and secular learning. Eilaf, the housecarl, held in especial honour by the king, with many other leading men, conducted him to York, where, by the king's direction, earl Cospatric met and received the prelate, to accompany him as far as Durham; and he came to the church of his see at Mid-Lent [27th March].

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[1] That is, the feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, 29th August.

A.D. 1072. After the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.] king William, having in his company Edric, surnamed the Forester, set out for Scotland with a force both of sailors and men-at-arms, to reduce it to subjection. For the king of Scots, Malcolm, had grievously offended him, because, as before has been said, he had in the preceding year furiously ravaged the territories of his kingdom. But when the king of the English had entered Scotland, king Malcolm met him at the place called Abernethy, and became his homager. William returning thence deprived Cospatric of the dignity of his earldom, charging him with having afforded counsel and aid to those who had murdered the earl and his men at Durham, although he had not been present in person; and that he had been on the side of the enemy when the Normans were slain at York.

But here let us revert a little to the past, mention having been made of the earls of Northumberland, in order that it may be known by what earls that province began to be administered when the line of its kings failed. The last of the kings of that province was Eiric,[1] whom the Northumbrians, in violation of the faith which they had sworn to king Eadred, made their king. Wherefore the king, being enraged, ordered that the whole province should be utterly devastated. Hereupon the Northumbrians, their king being driven out and slain by Maccus, the son of Onlaf, pacified king Eadred by oaths and presents, and the province was committed to earl Osulf. From that time Osulf administered the affairs on the north side of the Tyne, and Oslac at York and its territories. To them succeeded the elder Walthef, who had his son Uchtred as his successor. He, when in the reign of Agelred king Cnut made an attack upon Northumbria, was compelled by necessity to betake himself with his men to Cnut; and after having taken an oath and given hostages, he was slain by a powerful Dane, Thurbrand, surnamed Hold, with the consent of Cnut. His brother, Eadulf Cutel, was put in his place. But earl Uchtred had left three sons, Aldred, Eadulf, and Cospatric, of whom the first two were successively earls of the Northumbrians. The third, who did not attain the rank of the earldom, had a son named Uchtred, whose son was Eadulf, surnamed Rus, who afterwards appeared as the leader of those who murdered bishop Walcher, and he is said to have killed him with his own hand; but he was himself afterwards slain by a woman, and was buried in the church of Geddewerde [Jedburgh], but that corruption was afterwards cast out thence by Turgot, formerly prior of the church of Durham, and archdeacon. After Eadulf Cudel, Aldred, son of the aforesaid earl Uchtred, having obtained the earldom, in revenge for his father's death slew the murderer Thurebrand. Carl, the son of this Thurebrand, and the aforesaid earl Aldred, after plotting each against the life of the other, were at length reconciled; but not long after, Aldred, suspecting no evil, was treacherously slain in the wood called Risewood by his sworn brother Carl. After his brother's death, Eadulf became earl of the Northumbrians, who, being puffed up with arrogance, very cruelly pillaged the Britons; but in the third year after, when he had gone to be reconciled in friendship with Hardecnut, he was put to death by Siward, who then himself held the earldom of the whole province of the Northumbrians; that is, of the district from the Humber to the Tweed. At his death Tosti succeeded him, who being driven by the Northumbrians from England, on account of the heavy injuries that he had inflicted on them, his dukedom was committed to Morkar, first by king Eadward, and afterwards by king William. But Morkar being burdened with other weighty matters, handed over the earldom beyond the Tyne to the young Osulf, son of the aforesaid earl Eadulf. Morkar being subsequently taken and committed to prison, king William granted the earldom of Osulf to Copsi, who was on the side of earl Tosti, a man of discretion and skill. Osulf, driven by Copsi from the earldom, concealed himself in the woods and mountains in hunger and want, till at last having gathered some associates whom the same need had brought together, he surrounded Copsi while feasting at Newburn. He escaped through the midst of confused crowds; but being discovered while he lay hid in the church, he was compelled by the burning of the church to go out to the door, where at the very door he was beheaded by the hands of Osulf, in the fifth week of his charge of the earldom, on the fourth of the ides of March [12th March]. By and by, in the following autumn, Osulf himself, rushing headlong against the lance of a robber who met him, was thrust through, and there perished. At his death, Cospatric the son of Maldred, the son of Crinan, going to king William, obtained the earldom of the Northumbrians, which he purchased for a great sum; for the dignity of that earldom belonged to him by his mother's blood. His mother was Algitha the daughter of earl Uchtred, whom he had of Algiva, daughter of king Agelred. This Algitha her father gave in marriage to Maldred the son of Crinan. He then held the earldom, until the king, for the causes above named, took it from him. Flying therefore to Malcolm, he not long after made a voyage to Flanders; returning after a little time to Scotland, the aforesaid king bestowed upon him Dunbar, with the lands adjacent in Lothian, that out of these he might provide for himself and his friends until more prosperous times should come. This Cospatric was the father of Dolfin, Walthev, and Cospatric. After Cospatric the earldom was given to Walthev, the son of earl Siward; but he being afterwards imprisoned, the charge of the county was committed to bishop Walcher, until the day of his murder. The king then gave that honour to Albric, who being of very little use in difficult affairs, returned to his country; and the king gave the earldom of Northumberland to Robert de Mowbray, but he being taken prisoner, king William the second held Northumbria in his own hand, as at this time does king Henry.

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[1] See A.D. 949.

Having thrown together these matters in a digression for the information of my readers, the pen must now return, to resume the course of its interrupted order.

Cospatric being cast down from his dignity, Waltheov was raised to the earldom, which was his right by his father's and mother's descent; for he was the son of earl Siward, by Elfleda, daughter of earl Aldred.

At that time (namely, when the king had returned from Scotland) he built a castle in Durham, where the bishop might keep himself and his people safe from the attacks of assailants. Bishop Walcher and earl Waltheov were very friendly and accommodating to each other; so that he, sitting together with the bishop in the synod of priests, humbly and obediently carried out whatever the bishop decreed for the reformation of Christianity in his earldom.

A.D. 1073. In this year all things connected with the course of the sun and moon occurred as they had done in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, in which our Lord was baptized; that is to say, the day of his baptism, the eighth of the ides of January [6th Jan.], was on the Epiphany Sunday, and on the Monday was the beginning of his forty days' fast. From the baptism, therefore, of our Lord in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, two great cycles have elapsed,—that is, one thousand and sixty-four years.

William, king of the English, subdued the city of Mans, with the province belonging to it, having obtained great assistance from those of the English whom he had brought with him from England. Edgar Atheling came from Scotland through England into Normandy, and again reconciled himself with the king. Earl

Waltheov sending a strong band of Northumbrians, cruelly avenged the death of his grandfather earl Aldred, inasmuch as the sword of treachery destroyed the sons of Carl, who had put him to death, while they were feasting at Settrington.

A.D. 1074. Hildebrand, called also Gregory, archdeacon of Rome, was elected and made pope. This pope in a solemn synod, according to the ordinance of St. Peter the Apostle, St. Clement, and other holy fathers, by a decree forbad clerics, especially those ordained to the sacred ministry, to have wives, or to dwell with women, save those whom the Nicene Council or other canons excepted. He decreed also, under the judgment of St. Peter, that not only were they to be condemned with Simon Magus who bought or sold any office, such as that of a bishopric, abbey, priory, or deanery, or the tithes of the church, but those also, whoever they might be, who should consent to it. For the Lord has said, "Freely ye have received, freely give."

Three[1] poor monks setting out from the province of the Mercians, and sent by divine instigation to the province of the Northumbrians, came to York, asking of Hugh the son of Baldric, who at that time filled the office of sheriff, that he would provide a guide for their journey to the place called Monkchester, that is, The city of monks, now called Newcastle. Brought thither by his guidance, they remained there for a time; but finding in that place no trace of the ancient community of servants of Christ, they proceeded to Jarrow, where were to be seen many buildings of the monks with half-ruined churches, of which the remains scarcely indicated what their original condition had been. Bishop Walcher received them with great rejoicing, and supplied their needs. These were their names: first, in years and virtues, was Aldwin; next, Ealfwy; and third, Rinfrid. By these, then, three monasteries were established in the country of the Northumbrians: one at Durham, over the sacred and uncorrupted body of the father Cuthbert, in honour of St. Mary the Virgin; another at York, in honour of the same mother of God, Mary,—where of a little church was made a noble convent, which had for its first abbot, Stephen; its second, Richard; third, Gaufrid; fourth, Severinus; fifth, Clement, the present abbot. The third monastery was at the place formerly called Streneshald, that is, The bay of the watch-tower, now Whitby. There presided as its first abbot, William; the second was Nicholas; the third, Benedict; the fourth, Richard, who yet survives. But, indeed, after the most cruel devastation of the pagans had reduced the churches and monasteries to ashes by the sword and fire, and Christianity had almost perished, scarcely any churches—and those formed of branches and thatch—and nowhere any monasteries, had been rebuilt for two hundred years; the devotion of faith gradually growing cold, and religious worship altogether ceasing, the name of monks was unheard among the inhabitants of these provinces, who were filled with amazement when they saw any one adopting a monkish habit and mode of life. But when the aforesaid three monks took up their dwelling among them, they began to alter their manners for

[1] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. lvi.

the better from their savage life, and they employed themselves in the work of restoring the holy places. They repaired and rebuilt of their own accord the half-ruined churches, and even founded new ones in places where there were none before; many also abandoning a worldly life entered upon the monastic warfare. Attracted by their fame, a few of the natives of the provinces, and many from the remoter parts of England, with one mind here joined them. One of these was Turgot, afterwards bishop of the Scots. He, deriving his descent from no ignoble race of the Angles, was one amongst others who, after the conquest of England by the Normans, were kept as hostages for all Lindsey in the castle of Lincoln. Obtaining by money a mitigation of his imprisonment, he at a great risk privily made his escape to the Norwegians, who were then loading a merchant vessel at Grimsby for Norway. In this vessel also certain ambassadors, whom king William was sending to Norway, had procured a passage; and now when the ship in full sail was out of sight of land, lo! the king's run-away hostage emerging from the hold of the vessel in which the Norwegians had concealed him, astounded the ambassadors and their companions. For when a diligent search had been everywhere made, the king's inspectors had examined this very vessel, but the cunning of the concealers baffled the observation of the searchers. The ambassadors then insisted that they should lower their sails, and should somehow or other take back the ship with the king's fugitive to England. This the Norwegians sharply resisted, as a voyage so well begun would carry the vessel forward prosperously. Such a quarrel of the parties ensued that they betook themselves to arms on both sides; but since the force of numbers was with the Norwegians, the insolence of the ambassadors was soon repressed, and the nearer they approached the land the more submissive did they become. When they arrived there, the young refugee by his modest and discreet behaviour rendered himself agreeable to the nobles and gentry. He attained also to the acquaintance of king Olave, who, as he was of a very religious turn, was accustomed to the use of the sacred writings, and cultivated learning amidst the cares of his kingdom; he was wont also to assist the priest at the altar, and when the latter was putting on the sacred vestments, he would pour the water[1] on his hand, and devoutly perform other offices of this kind. Hearing therefore that a clerk had come from England, (which at that time was reckoned an important event,) he took him as his master in learning psalmody. In this way Turgot had enough and to spare of good things flowing in upon him by the bounty of the king and noblemen. His soul was constantly stirred to contempt of the world; so that, avoiding festivities whenever he could, he indulged in solitary tears, beseeching God to direct him in the way of salvation. But as religious impulses often change when they are distracted, his soul by degrees declined from that state, attracted in the course of events by the pleasures of the world. But although unwilling of his own accord, he was in time compelled to enter the home of his heavenly Father. For after some years, when he was returning to his own country with much treasure, in the midst of the sea the ship was wrecked by a violent tempest, his companions perished, and he suffered the loss of all his property, and with five or six others with much difficulty barely preserved life alone. Coming to Durham for devotion, he told all things concerning himself to bishop Walcher, and showed him that his mind was disposed to embrace the monastic life. The bishop perceived this with much satisfaction, and sending him to bishop Aldwin, of whom mention has been made above, he said, "I pray and desire that you will receive this my son, clothe him with the monastic habit, and teach him to observe also the monastic life." He received him, and duly placed him on his probation; and when he was approved he delivered him the monastic habit; and so instructed him by word and example, that when the same Aldwin died, by order of bishop William, Turgot succeeded him in the priory of the church of Durham, which he ably administered for twenty years all but twelve days. For in the eighth year of the episcopate of Ralph, who succeeded William, at the request of Alexander, king of Scots, he was elevated by Henry, king of the English, to the episcopate of the church of St. Andrew in Scotland, which is the see of the primate of the whole nation of the Scots. But his consecration was deferred for a year or more, on account of dissensions between the church of York and the church of St. Andrew in Scotland. For the former, from some imaginary right, claimed for itself the consecration and subjection of the primate of the Scots; but the latter, on the other hand, repudiated any obligation which might arise from either antiquity or custom. But that the church being deprived of a pastor, might not remain longer in suspense, at the request of the king of Scots, king Henry ordered that Thomas the second, archbishop of York, should consecrate him without any requirement of subjection, saving the authority of each church; so that afterwards, where, when, and by whomsoever the cause should be moved, a due termination might be put to the dispute between the two parties. Going thus consecrated to Scotland, and finding that he could not rightly exercise his episcopal office in difficult causes, he prepared to go to Rome, where he could pass his life under the counsel and advice of the lord pope Paschal [II]. But he was prevented from carrying that into effect, because when the disputes between him and the king came to an issue, through distress of mind he fell into a dispirited state. Having therefore on account of his infirmity received licence to stay for a while at Durham, he went on the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul [28th June] to Wearmouth, where he had formerly received from Aldwin the monastic habit; having there in the morning celebrated mass as well as he could, he set out for St. Cuthbert's, and there taking to his bed, his end was preceded by febrile attacks, sometimes low, sometimes acute, and this for two months and four days. When the hour of his death came, as he was repeating in prayer as well as he could, "In[1] peace is his habitation, and his dwelling in Sion;" and, "Praise the Lord in his holiness," he yielded up his spirit in the presence of his brethren, at the third hour, on Tuesday, the second of the kalends of April [31st March]. After an episcopate of eight years, two months, and ten days, he obtained of God the gift which he had earnestly sought, that he might breathe his last breath near the sacred body of Cuthbert. He was buried in the chapter-house, where his body lies between that of bishop Walcher on the south, and bishop William on the north. He died in the year of our Lord's incarnation[1] one thousand one hundred and fifteen.

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[1] See "De manuum lotione," in Durant, De Ritibus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, lib. ii. cap. xxviii.

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[1] Psalm lxxvi. 2, Vulg.; cl. 1.

So much by way of digression; let us now resume the order of the history.

In the same year in which pope Hildebrand held the aforesaid council, Roger, earl of Hereford, son of William, earl of the East Angles, contrary to the command of king William, gave his sister in marriage to earl Ralph, and celebrated the nuptials with great pomp, at the place called Yxning, in the province of Cambridge, where they made a great conspiracy against king William, in which many joined. They compelled earl Waltheov, who had been entrapped by their wiles, to enter into the conspiracy. He went, as soon as he could, to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and received from him a penance for the oath which he had taken, though unwillingly; and by his advice he proceeded to king William, who was residing in Normandy; and when he had laid the whole affair before him, he voluntarily threw himself on his mercy. But the other nobles above mentioned repaired to their castles, with the intention of carrying out the conspiracy which they had commenced; and, with their supporters, began to organize a rebellion with all their might. But Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, with a large military force, and Agelwin, abbot of Evesham, with his men, having summoned to their aid Urso, sheriff of Worcester, and Walter de Lacy, with their troops and a number of other people, prevented the earl of Hereford from crossing the Severn, and thus forming a junction with earl Ralph and with his army at the appointed place. And then Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's brother, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance, who were prepared for battle, with a large force both of English and Normans encountered earl Ralph, who had encamped near Cambridge. He perceived the weakness of his force, and fearing the numbers of his opponents, he privily escaped to Norwich, and committing the castle to the care of his wife and his soldiers, embarked in a vessel and fled from England to Lesser Brittany. The enemy pursued him in his flight, and either killed, or in various ways disabled all of his men whom they could catch. The leaders then besieged the castle until, a treaty being made, by the king's permission the countess was allowed to depart from England with her people. After these events, the king returned in the autumn from Normandy, and put earl Roger in confinement. He also imprisoned earl Waltheov, although he had petitioned for mercy from him.

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[1] In A.D. 1115 the 31st March did not fall upon a Tuesday, which, however, it did in 1114.

Egitha, formerly queen of the English, died at Wilton, in the month of December; her body was brought to London by the king's order, and honourably buried at Westminster, near the body of her husband, king Eadward. The king held his court thereat the ensuing Christmas, and of those who had raised their heads against him, some he banished from England, some he maimed by putting out their eyes, or cutting off their hands. The earls Waltheov and Roger, who had been condemned by a judicial sentence, he placed in stricter custody.

A.D. 1075. Since the clergy preferred lying under anathema to parting from their wives, pope Hildebrand, in order to punish them if he could by means of others, ordered that no one should hear mass from a married priest, as follows:—

"Gregory, pope, also called Hildebrand, the servant of the servants of God, to those throughout the kingdoms of Italy and Germany who exhibit the obedience due to St. Peter, sends the apostolic benediction.

"If there are any priests, deacons, or subdeacons, who are wallowing in the crime of fornication, we, on behalf of Almighty God, and by the authority of St. Peter, forbid them access to the church, until they repent and amend; but if any choose to continue in their sin, let none of you presume to listen to the offices which they perform, since their blessing is turned into a curse, and their prayer into a sin, as the Lord witnesseth by the prophet, saying, 'I will curse your blessings.'" (Mal. ii. 2.)

Earl Waltheov, by order of king William, being led without the city of Winchester, was undeservedly and cruelly beheaded by the axe, and his body buried in the same place; but, in process of time (God so appointing it), his body was disinterred, and with great respect conveyed to Croyland, and reverently buried in the church. Before his death, when he was placed in close confinement, he constantly and bitterly bewailed whatever he had done amiss; and by prayers, fastings and alms, sought to make his peace with God. Men wished to blot his memory from the earth; but we believe that he rejoices with the saints in heaven; for the aforesaid archbishop Lanfranc, of pious memory, from whom after confession he had received penance, was a faithful witness, who both affirmed that he was free from the crime imputed to him—to wit, the aforesaid conspiracy—and that whatever sins he had committed in other respects, he mourned over them like a true Christian, with penitential tears; and that he himself would be happy if, after the termination of his life, he should share his blessed rest. After him the charge of the earldom was committed to bishop Walcher.

After these things the king, crossing the sea, marched an expedition into Lesser Brittany, and besieged the castle of earl Ralph, called Dol, until Philip, king of the French, drove him from thence.

A.D. 1076. Suane, king of the Danes, died; a man well imbued with learning. His son Harold succeeded him.

A.D. 1077. Robert, eldest son of king William, (because he did not grant him possession of Normandy, which before his going to

England he had given him, in the presence of Philip, king of the French,) went to France; and, by the aid of king Philip, constantly committed great depredations in Normandy, burnt the towns, slew the people, and caused his father no little trouble and anxiety.

A.D. 1078. The abbey of St. Mary, at York, was founded.

A.D. 1079. Malcolm, king of Scots, after the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], devastated Northumberland, as far as the great river Tyne, slew many, took more prisoners, and returned with great spoil. King William, while engaged in battle with his son Robert before the castle of Gerberoy, which king Philip had given him, was wounded by him in the arm, and thrown from his horse; but as soon as he recognised him by his voice, Robert immediately dismounted and desired his father to mount his own horse; and so allowed him to depart. He then took to flight; many of his men being killed and some taken, and his son William, with many others, being wounded. The venerable man Robert, who received the order of priesthood by the ministry of the most reverend Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, was consecrated bishop of the church of Hereford, at Canterbury, by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, on Sunday, the fourth of the kalends of January [29th Dec.].

A.D. 1080. Walcher,[1] bishop of Durham, a native of Lorraine, was slain, on Thursday, the second of the ides of May [14th May], at the place called Goteshead, (that is, The goat's head,) by the Northumbrians, in revenge for the death of Ligulf, a noble and good thane. This man, by hereditary right, had large possessions spread throughout England. But since at that time the Normans continually gave scope to their ferocity in every quarter, he betook himself with his family to Durham, inasmuch as he loved St. Cuthbert with his whole heart. He had married Algitha, daughter of earl Aldred, of whom he begat two sons, named Uchthred and Morckar. Elfleda, mother of earl Waltheof, was sister of this Algitha. Wherefore that earl gave his little cousin, the aforesaid Morkar, to God, to be educated by the monks of Jarrow. At that time the earl himself was at Tynemouth,[2] which place he had granted along with the aforesaid youth, to the disposal of those monks. The boy's father, Ligulf, was so much beloved by the bishop, that he would by no means carry on or administer the greater matters of secular business without his advice. On this account his chaplain, Leobwin, (whom he had raised so high that scarcely anything could be managed in the bishopric or the county without reference to him,) stimulated by envy, and excessively puffed up with arrogance on account of his own power, insolently set himself up against the aforesaid Ligulf; wherefore he made light of some of his opinions and counsels, and strove in all ways to render them void. Also he frequently quarrelled with him before the bishop, not without menaces, and he often provoked him to anger by his opprobrious language. So it happened, that one day when this man Ligulf (who was summoned to counsel by the bishop) had decided that certain things were lawful and right, Leobwin obstinately opposed him, and irritated him by his contemptuous speeches; but as he replied to him more severely than usual, he therefore left the place of meeting, and calling to him Gilbert, to whom—for he was a relation—the bishop had under himself committed the government of the earldom of the Northumbrians, he earnestly begged that he would avenge him, and hasten to put Ligulf to death as speedily as possible. Gilbert readily yielded to his neighbour's request, and gathering together his own soldiers, along with those of the bishop and Leobwin himself, he marched one night to the vill where Ligulf was resident, and wickedly slew him, with almost all his family, in his own house. When this was known, the bishop groaned heavily from the bottom of his heart, and tearing the hood from his head and throwing it to the ground, he in his grief at once said to Leobwin, who was then present, "These things, Leobwin, are the result of your grievous doings and most stupid craft; therefore I would have you to know for certain that by the sword of your tongue you have destroyed both me, and yourself, and all my family." Saying this, he quickly betook himself to the castle, and sending messengers immediately through all Northumbria, he took care that all should be informed that he was not privy to the death of Liulf, but that, on the contrary, he would utterly banish his murderer, Gilbert, and all his associates from Northumbria, and that he would be ready to clear himself according to the decision of the pontiff; then, by sending mediators, he and the relatives of the slain persons agreed to a truce on each side, and appointed a place and day where and on which to meet, in order to settle a firmer agreement between them. When the time came, they met at the appointed place; but, as the bishop would not hold the meeting in the open air, he went with his clergy and more worshipful knights into the church there, and a conference being held, he again and again sent such of his friends as he pleased out of doors to them, for the purpose of making an agreement. But they refused to accede to his requests, since they were fully convinced that Liulf had been put to death by his order. For not only had Leobwin, on the night after the murder of their neighbour, received Gilbert and his associates into his house familiarly and amicably, but also the bishop himself had received him as before into his favour and society; wherefore, they first slew all of the bishop's party who were out of doors, except a few who escaped by flight. At sight of this the bishop, to satisfy the fury of his enemies, ordered his relative, the aforesaid Gilbert, to leave the church. The soldiers followed on his footsteps as he went out, to defend him; but assailed at once on every side by the swords and lances of their enemies, they perished in a moment. Nevertheless, they spared two English thanes, on account of their relationship. They killed also Leobwin the dean of Durham, because he had so often given the bishop many evil counsels against them, and the other clerics as soon as they came out.

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[1] See Simeon's History of the Church of Durham, chap. lix.

[2] This incident is illustrated by two charters, printed among the Illustrations appended to this History, letter [A].

The bishop, when he saw that their fury could by no means be allayed except by the death of Leobwin, the head and author of all that disaster, begged him to go out; but as he was altogether unable to prevail upon him to depart, he himself went to the doors of the church, and begged them that his own life might be spared. When they refused this, he covered his head with the border of his tunic and went out of doors, and immediately fell pierced by the swords of his foes. They then ordered Leobwin to come out; and when he would not, they set fire to the roof and walls of the church; but he, choosing to end his life by burning rather than by massacre, for some time endured the flames. But when he was half burnt he broke forth, and being hewed to pieces, he miserably perished, paying the penalty of his iniquity. In retaliation for this horrible murder, king William the same year ravaged Northumbria; sending thither Odo, bishop of Bayeux, with a large military force. In the autumn of this year, the same king William sent his son Robert to Scotland against Malcholm; but having gone as far as Egglesbreth he returned without accomplishing anything, and built the new castle on the river Tyne. William received the bishopric of Durham on the fifth of the ides of November [9th Nov.]; but was consecrated by Thomas, archbishop of York, on the fourth of the nones of January [2d Jan.], at Gloucester.

The emperor Henry, on Whitsunday [31st May], decreed at Mentz, that pope Hildebrand should be deposed; and on the Nativity of St. John Baptist [24th June], he made Wibert, bishop of the city of Ravenna, pope in his place.

A. D. 1081. King Henry went with a hostile intent against pope Hildebrand to Rome, which he assaulted, but did not enter.

A. D. 1082. Much slaughter and depredation having taken place between king Henry and pope Hildebrand, many men were killed in the night of Palm Sunday [17th April]. King William put his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, into confinement in Normandy.

A. D. 1083. King Henry stormed and took the city of Rome, and placed Wibert in the apostolic see. Hildebrand went to Benevento, where he remained until his death; but Henry returned to Germany. An infamous dissension took place between the monks and Turstin their abbot, at Glastonbury, a man unworthy to be spoken of, whom king William had unwisely preferred from the monastery of Caen to be abbot of that place. Amongst other deeds of folly he disdained the Gregorian chant, and began to force the monks to discontinue it, and to learn and sing the chant of one William of Fescamp. As they bore this very ill—for they had now grown old both in that and other ecclesiastical service according to the custom of the Roman church—one day he suddenly rushed upon them unawares into the chapter with an armed military force, and pursued the monks as they were flying in extreme terror into the church, as far as the altar, while the soldiers pierced the crucifixes, and images, and shrines of the saints, with their javelins and arrows, and thrusting through with a pike one of the monks, even while he was embracing the holy altar, they slew him; and they murdered another at the base of the altar, pierced with arrows. The rest, urged by necessity, bravely defending themselves with the benches and candlesticks of the church, although severely wounded, drove back all the soldiers out of the choir. And then it happened that two of the monks were killed and fourteen wounded, as were also some of the soldiers. An action being brought on this account, as it was evident that the abbot was chiefly to blame, the king removed the same abbot, and placed him in a monastery of his own in Normandy. Very many of the monks were dispersed in prisons through the bishoprics and abbeys by order of the king. After his death the same abbot again bought his abbey from his son, king William, for five hundred pounds of silver; and, roving about for some years through the possessions of the church, he ended his life miserably, as he deserved, far from his monastery. Queen Matilda died in Normandy, on Thursday, the fourth of the nones of November [2d Nov.], and was buried at Caen. In this year monks first assembled at Durham.

A.D. 1084. Pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory, died. William, king of the English, received from each hyde of land throughout England six shillings.

A.D. 1085. Eadmund, abbot of Pershore, a man of remarkable goodness and piety, died at a good old age, on Sunday, the seventeenth of the kalends of July [15th June], and was buried by Serlo, the venerable abbot of Gloucester. Turstin, a monk of Gloucester, succeeded him. In the same year the king of the Danes, Cnut the son of Suane, came to England equipped with a powerful fleet, and aided by his father-in-law Robert, count of Flanders, whose daughter he had married. Wherefore king William hired many thousands of mercenary foot soldiers and archers from France; and, taking some from Normandy, he returned to England in the autumn, and having distributed them through the whole kingdom, he ordered the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs, and king's officers, to give them provisions; but, on learning that the intentions of his enemies had been delayed, he sent back part of the army, and part he retained with him the whole winter. And at Christmas he held his court at Gloucester; where he gave to his three chaplains, Maurice, William, and Robert, the bishoprics of London, Thetford, and Chester.

A.D. 1086. King William caused the whole of England to be described; how much land each of his barons possessed, how many feudatory soldiers, how many ploughs, how many villains, how many horses, even what quantity of live stock each man possessed, in the whole of his kingdom, from the greatest to the least, and how much tribute each estate could pay; and the land was harassed with much loss resulting from thence. And in Whitsun-week[1] he invested his son Henry with the arms of a knight at Westminster, where he was holding his court. Not long after, he commanded the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs, with their knights, to meet him on the kalends of August [1st Aug.], at Salisbury. On their coming thither, he made their knights swear fealty to him against all men. At that time Eadgar Atheling, having obtained the king's permission, crossed the sea with two hundred soldiers, and went to Apulia. His sister Christina, a virgin, entered the monastery called

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[1] Whitsunday fell upon 24th May.

Romsey, and assumed the garb of a nun. In the same year was a plague among cattle, and great severity of weather.

A.D. 1087. In this year the relics of St. Nicolas were translated from Myra[1] to the city of Baris. Aldwin, prior of Durham, died. A furious fire destroyed many cities, also the church of St. Paul the Apostle, with the greater and better part of London. The Danes martyred their sovereign, king Cnut, in a church, on Saturday, the sixth of the ides of July [10th July]. Stigand, bishop of Chichester; Scoland, abbot of St. Augustin's; Alsi, abbot of Bath; and Turstin, abbot of Pershore, died. Before the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], king William went to France with an army, and burnt the town called Mathun [Mantes], and all the churches in it, and two recluses, and returned thence into Normandy. But on his return he was seized with a severe complaint of the bowels, and grew worse and worse daily; and when, by the increase of his illness, he perceived that the day of his death was at hand, he liberated his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and earls Morkar and Roger, and Siward surnamed Barn, Wulnoth, king Harold's brother, whom he had detained in captivity from childhood, and all whom he had kept in prison either in England or Normandy. Then he gave the kingdom of England to his son William; and to his eldest son Robert (who was then in exile in France) he granted the earldom of Normandy. And so, strengthened with the heavenly viaticum, he gave up at once his life and his kingdom, after ruling over the English nation twenty years, ten months, and twenty-eight days, on the fifth of the ides of September [9th Sept.], and lies buried at Caen, in the church of the protomartyr St. Stephen, which he had built from its foundations and enriched with wealth.

His son William hurried off to England, taking with him Morkar and Wulnoth; but as soon as he came to Winchester he committed them to prison just as they had been before; and on Sunday, the sixth of the kalends of October [26th Sept.], he was consecrated king at Westminster by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. Then, returning to Winchester, he distributed throughout England his father's treasures, as he had directed; namely, to some principal churches he gave ten marks of gold, to some six, to some less. He ordered also, that sixty pence each be given to such churches as were situated in towns or villages; and among the higher churches and monasteries he distributed crosses, altars, screens, gospels, candlesticks, holy water stoups, pipes, and various ornaments decked with gems, gold, silver, and precious stones. His brother Robert also, on his return to Normandy, bestowed abundantly the treasures which he found on the monasteries and poor churches, for the good of his father's soul; and having freed from imprisonment Ulf, son of Harold, formerly king of the English, and Dunechald, son of Malcolm king of Scots, and invested them with the arms of knighthood, he allowed them to depart.

A.D. 1088. In this year a dissension arose among the nobles of

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[1] See Act. SS. Bolland. die nona Maii, p. 359, inter prætermissos.

England; for a small part of the Norman nobility favoured king William, the other and the greater number were in favour of Robert, earl of the Normans, desiring that he would seize the kingdom to himself;—they wished either to betray the one brother alive to the other, or by putting him to death to deprive him of the kingdom. The leaders in this infamous affair were Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who was also earl of Kent; Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance; Robert, earl of Moreton; Roger, earl of Shropshire; and the higher nobles of all England, except archbishop Lanfranc. They secretly concocted this execrable plot during Lent,[1] and immediately after Easter [16th April], each began to ravage all around, to seize and plunder everything, and to fortify the castles with ramparts and provisions. Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance, and Robert de Mowbray went to Bristol, where they had a very strong castle, and they laid waste the entire country as far as the place called Bath. The nobles of Herefordshire and Shropshire, accompanied by a multitude of the Welsh, marched to Worcester, pillaging and burning all before them. They thought also to take the church and the castle, the latter of which was at that time under the charge of the venerable bishop Wolstan. When the bishop heard of these events he was greatly distressed; and, considering what counsel he should adopt under the circumstances, he betook himself to his God, and prayed that He would have respect to his church and his people oppressed by enemies. While he was thus occupied, his retainers sallied from the castle, and they took and killed five hundred of the assailants, and put the rest to flight. Roger Bigot entered the castle of Norwich and conquered all, but to his own damage. Bishop Odo (the originator of these evils) marched to Kent and pillaged the royal vills; moreover, he ravaged the lands of all who continued faithful to the king, and garrisoned the castle of Rochester. When the king heard of this he called an assembly of the English; he showed them the treachery of the Normans, and begged that they would aid him, on condition that, if they would be faithful to him in this his hour of necessity, he would grant them the best laws they could choose for themselves; he forbad all unjust levies, and allowed permission to all persons to use his forests for hunting. But whatever he promised he kept but a very short time; yet the English faithfully assisted him. The king, therefore, levied an army to go to Rochester, where he supposed bishop Odo to be. When they reached Tunbridge they found the castle held out against the king; but the English bravely assaulting it, destroyed the whole castle, and the garrison capitulated. This being accomplished, the king, with his army, directed his march to the castle of Pevensey, for bishop Odo had now retreated to Rochester, and secured himself in that castle. The king pursued him, and besieged the castle with a large army for six whole weeks.

While these things were passing in England, Robert, earl of Normandy, assembled a large army, and prepared to send it to England, intending to follow presently, as if they were secure of England by means of bishop Odo and the rest of his party there; but king William had now guarded the sea by his marine force, who slew and drowned in the sea so many of those who were coming to England, that no man knew the number of those who perished.

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[1] In this year Ash-Wednesday fell upon 1st March.

In the meantime, while this was taking place at sea, bishop Odo, and those who were with him, were reduced by famine to yield the castle of Pevensey, and they promised with an oath that they would leave England, and would not again enter it except by permission of king William, and that they would first give up the castle of Rochester. But when Odo came to Rochester with the king's men who were to receive the castle on the king's behalf, the men who held that castle immediately put him in fetters and those who accompanied him: some affirmed that this was done by the bishop's cunning; certainly there were in this castle brave knights and almost all the nobility of Normandy: there was Eustace, the young earl of Bologne, and many noble Flemish.

When this news reached the king he came with an army to Rochester, and besieged the city, and in a short time the garrison surrendered to him, and were driven with disgrace from England; and thus the bishop, who had been almost a second king of England, irrecoverably lost his dignity. But the bishop, on his arrival in Normandy, immediately received from earl Robert the charge of the whole province, the details of which are recorded in a little book which was written for the purpose. Also William, bishop of Durham, (being then in the eighth year of his episcopate,) departed from England, along with many others.

A.D. 1089. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, died on Thursday, the ninth of the kalends of June [24th May]. In the same year, on Saturday, the third of the ides of August [11th Aug.], a very great earthquake was felt throughout England.

A.D. 1090. William the younger, king of the English, wishing to take Normandy from his brother Robert, and to bring him into subjection to himself, first reduced the castle of Walter of St. Waleric, and the castle called Albamarle, and placed in them troops to devastate Normandy. Seeing this, and knowing the unfaithfulness of his men, earl Robert sent ambassadors to his liege lord Philip, king of the French, and caused him to come into Normandy, and he and the king besieged one of the castles in which his brother's troops were garrisoned. When this was made known to the king, he secretly sent no small sum of money to king Philip, and he entreated him to raise the siege and return home; and in this request he was successful.

A.D. 1091. In the month of February king William the younger went to Normandy, to seize it from his brother. But during his stay there peace was made between them, on condition that the earl of his own consent should yield to the king the earldom of Eu, the abbey of Fescamp, situated on Mount St. Michael, and the castles which had revolted from him. But the king placed under the earl's rule the province of Mans, and the castles which then held out against him in Normandy; that he should restore to all the Normans the lands which they had lost in England, on account of their adherence to the earl; and should give to the earl as much land in England as had been agreed upon between them. Besides, they settled between themselves that if the earl should die without a son born in lawful wedlock, the king should be his heir, and likewise, if the king chanced to die, the earl should be his heir of the whole. This agreement was confirmed by the oath of twelve barons on the king's side, and twelve on the earl's. In the meantime their brother Henry entered Mount St. Michael with all the soldiers he had at his command, ravaged the king's land, and took some of his men prisoners, and despoiled others. Wherefore the king and the earl assembled their army and besieged the mount for the whole of Lent,[1] and frequently joined battle with him, and lost some men and horses; so that the king was wearied out by the length of the siege, and departed unsatisfied.

Not long after this the king deprived Eadgar Atheling of the rank which the earl had given him, and expelled him from Normandy. Meanwhile, in the month of May, Malcolm, king of Scots, invaded Northumbria with a large army, intending to push on further if he met with success, and to throw his force upon the inhabitants of England; but God was against him, and therefore his design was unsuccessful. When the king heard of it, he returned to England in the month of August with his brother Robert. Not long after, he set out for Scotland with a considerable fleet and an army of cavalry, to subdue Malcolm. When he reached Durham he restored bishop William to his see, on the very day three years after that on which he had left it, namely, the third of the ides of September [11th Sept.]. But before the king entered Scotland, being a few days before the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.], almost all his fleet was wrecked, and many of his cavalry perished of cold and hunger. King Malcolm met him with an army in the province of Lothian. Earl Robert, when he saw this, summoned Eadgar Atheling to him, whom the king had expelled from Normandy, and who was then living with the king of Scots. By his aid he procured a treaty between the kings, on this condition, that Malcolm should obey William as he had obeyed his father, and that William should restore to Malcolm the twelve vills which he had held in England under his father, and should give him twelve marks of gold each year; but the agreement thus made between them did not last long. The earl also reconciled Eadgar himself with king William.

On Wednesday, being the ides of October [15th Oct.], a vehement flash of lightning striking the tower of the church of Winchelcombe, went quite through the wall near the top, split one of the beams, and striking with violence the head of the image of Christ, threw it to the ground, and broke the right leg. Also the image of St. Mary, which stood near the cross, was struck by the flash and fell to the ground. A great smoke ensued, with an exceedingly unpleasant smell, and filled the church; it continued until the monks of the place went round the buildings with holy water and incense, and the relics of the saints, chanting psalms. Moreover on Friday, the sixteenth of the kalends of November [17th Oct.], a very violent whirlwind, blowing from the south-west, struck and shattered more than six hundred houses and very many churches in London. Rushing into the church of St. Mary, called Bow, it killed in it two men, and raising aloft the roof with its beams, it carried them for some time hither and thither in the air, and at length planted six of the beams, in the order in which they had before been fixed in the roof, so deep into the earth, that of some of them a seventh, of others an eighth part only was visible; they were twenty-seven or twenty-eight feet long.

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[1] Ash-Wednesday fell this year upon 26th February.

After this the king returned from Northumbria, through Mercia, into Wessex, and kept the earl with him till nearly Christmas; but he would not fulfil the compact made between them, at which the earl being incensed returned to Normandy, on the tenth of the kalends of January [23d Dec.], with Eadgar Atheling.

As was reported in England, there were at this time two persons who were styled Roman pontiffs opposing each other, and drawing after them God's church, which was divided between them; namely, Urban, who had formerly been called Odo, bishop of Ostia, and Clement, who had been called Wibert, archbishop of Ravenna. Not to speak of other parts of the world, this matter for many years occupied the church of England to such an extent, that from the death of Gregory, called Hildebrand, to this time it would not be subject or obedient to any one in the place of pope; but Italy and France had already received Urban as the vicar of St. Peter.

A.D. 1092. The city of London was for the most part destroyed by fire. Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, consecrated the church which he had built in the castle at Salisbury, assisted by bishop Walcelin and John of Bath, on Monday, the nones of April [5th April]. Bishop Remigius, who by licence of king William the elder had transferred the episcopal see of Dorchester to Lincoln, wished to consecrate a noble church built in that latter place, as the cathedral of his diocese; for he felt that the day of his death was drawing near; but Thomas, archbishop of York, opposed him, by objecting that it was built within his diocese. But king William the younger, for a sum of money which Remigius had given him, ordered the bishops of almost all England to assemble together on the seventh of the ides of May [9th May], and to dedicate the church. But two days before the day appointed, bishop Remigius himself departed this life, by the secret counsel of God; and the dedication of the church was put off on this account. After this, as the king was going into Northumbria, he restored the city, which in British is called Cairleil, but in Latin Lugubalia, and built a castle in it. For this city, like some others in those parts, had been destroyed by the Danish pagans two hundred years before, and had remained uninhabited to this time.

A.D. 1093. King William the younger was seized with a severe illness at the royal vill called Alvestan, and went in haste to the city of Gloucester, and there lay sick during the whole of Lent;[1] and supposing himself to be at the point of death, he vowed to God, (as his barons suggested to him,) that he would amend his life, that he would no longer sell or tax churches, but would protect them by his royal authority; and that he would abolish unjust laws, and enact just ones. He gave the archbishopric of Canterbury, which he held in his own hands, to Anselm, abbot of Bec, who was then staying in England; and the bishopric of Lincoln he gave to his chancellor Robert, surnamed Bloet.

The new church was commenced at Durham on Thursday, the third of the ides of August [11th Aug.], by bishop William, of which Malcolm, king of Scots, and prior Turgot, laid the first stones of the foundation. On the day of the feast of St. Bartholomew [24th Aug.], Malcolm, king of Scots, met king William the younger at Gloucester, as had been before agreed between them by ambassadors, for the purpose of renewing and reestablishing a firm alliance between them, according to the wishes of some of the English nobility; but they separated without coming to terms. For William, from his excessive pride and power, disdained to see Malcolm or to hold converse with him; moreover, he wished to compel him to do him right in his own court, according to the judgment of his own barons only; but Malcolm would by no means do that, except within the confines of his own kingdom, where the kings of the Scots were wont to do right to the kings of England, and according to the judgment of the primates of each kingdom.

After this there appeared a very wonderful sign in the sun, and Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, and Wido, abbot of St. Augustin's, and Paul, abbot of the monastery of St. Albans, died. This Paul, having by the aid of earl Robert taken possession of the church of Tynemouth, contrary to the injunction of the monks of Durham, for it belonged to them, was there attacked by illness; and on his journey home, he died at Seterington near York. Malcolm, king of Scots, and his eldest son Edward, with many others, were slain in Northumbria on the day of the feast of St. Brice [13th Nov.], by the soldiers of earl Robert. In his death the justice of an avenging God was plainly manifested; for this man perished in that province which he had often been wont to ravage, instigated by avarice; for five times he had wasted it with a savage devastation, and carried captive the wretched natives to reduce them to slavery. Once in Eadward's reign, when Tosti, earl of York, had gone to Rome; a second time, in William's reign, when he pillaged Cleveland also; thirdly, in the reign of the same king William, when he went as far as the Tyne, and returned with great spoil after massacring the men and burning the dwellings; fourthly, in the reign of William the second, he went with his numberless forces to Chester [le-street], not far from Durham, with the intention of proceeding further; but an inconsiderable military force assembled against him, and caused him speedily to retire, from fear. The fifth time, he invaded Northumbria with as large an army as he could collect, intending to bring upon it utter desolation; but he was cut off near the river Alne, with his eldest son Eadward, whom he had appointed heir of the kingdom after him. His army either fell by the sword, or those who escaped the sword were carried away by the inundation of the rivers, which were then more than usually swollen by the winter rains. Two of the natives placed the body of the king on a cart, as none of his men were left to commit it to the ground, and buried it at Tynemouth. And then it happened that where he had deprived many of life, property, and liberty, there he himself lost at the same time his life and his possessions, by the judgment of God. On hearing of his death, Margaret, queen of Scots, was afflicted with so great distress, that she at once fell into a severe illness; and without delay, summoning her priests, she went into the church, and having confessed her sins to them, she caused herself to be anointed with oil and strengthened by the heavenly viaticum, beseeching God with constant and most earnest prayers, that He would no longer allow her to continue in this miserable life. Nor were her prayers long unheard; for three days after the king's death, she was freed from the fetters of the flesh, and passed, as we trust, to the joys of eternal salvation. For while she lived she had devoutly cultivated piety, justice, peace and charity. She was frequent in prayers, and kept under her body by watching and fasting; she endowed churches and monasteries; she loved and honoured the servants and handmaids of the Lord; she divided her bread to the hungry; clothed the naked; gave lodging, garments and food to all wanderers who came to her; and she loved God with her whole heart.

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[1] Ash-Wednesday fell this year upon 2d March, and Easter-day upon 17th April.

On her death the Scots chose for themselves as king, Dufenald, brother of king Malcolm, and expelled from Scotland all the English who were of the king's court. When this was known, Duncan, son of king Malcolm, besought king William, in whose service he was then fighting, that he would grant him his father's kingdom; which having obtained, he swore fealty to him, and so he hastened to Scotland with a multitude of English and Normans, and drove his uncle Dufenald from the kingdom, and reigned in his stead. Then some of the Scots assembled together and cut off nearly all his men, and he and a few others escaped with difficulty. Nevertheless, after this they permitted him to reign, on this condition, that he should no longer bring into Scotland either English or Normans, or permit them to fight for him. Two suns were seen in the heaven far distant from each other.

The bishops of almost all England assembled together; among whom Thomas, archbishop of York, held the primacy; and they consecrated as bishop, Anselm, abbot of Bec, on the second of the nones of December [4th Dec.]. In the same year William, count of Eu, overcome by great lust of gold, and enticed by the promise of great honours, revolted from his legitimate sovereign, Robert earl of Normandy, to whom he had sworn fealty; and coming to England to king William, he yielded himself to his dominion as his greatest corrupter.

A.D. 1094. Robert, earl of Normandy, announced by ambassadors to his brother king William the younger, that he would no longer observe the peace which they had concluded between them. Moreover, he called him perfidious and perjured, if he would not fulfil the agreement which had been made between them in Normandy. On this account the king went to Hastings, about the kalends of August [1st Aug.]; and while he stayed there he caused the church of Battle to be dedicated in honour of St. Mary; there also he deprived Herbert, bishop of Thetford, of his pastoral staff, because he wished to go secretly to pope Urban to obtain absolution from him for the bishopric which he had bought for himself, and the abbey which he had bought for his father, from this king William for a thousand pounds. Then, in the middle of Lent,[1] the king went to Normandy, in order to hold a conference with his brother under a truce; but left him without coming to an agreement. Lastly, they met in the Campus Martius, where those who had confirmed the treaty between them by their oaths laid all the blame upon the king. But the king would neither acknowledge that he was in fault, nor perform the agreement; therefore, they separated in great wrath without having come to any terms. The earl went to Rouen, and the king returned to Eu, and [remained there; he hired mercenaries everywhere; and gave to some and promised to others of the nobles of Normandy, gold, silver, and lands, that they might leave his brother and yield up themselves with their castles to his dominion. When things had succeeded according to his desire, he distributed his soldiers through the castles of which he had possession before, or which he then obtained. In the meantime he stormed the castle called Bures; part of the earl's soldiers who were taken in it were sent as prisoners to England, part were imprisoned in Normandy; and thus he harassed his brother in various ways, and strove to disinherit him. Compelled by necessity, Robert brought his liege lord Philip, king of the French, with an army into Normandy; where he laid siege to the castle of Argenteuil; and on the very day of the siege seven hundred soldiers of king William, with twice as many squires and all the garrison who were in it, were taken prisoners without bloodshed. He ordered the prisoners to be kept in confinement until each man should ransom himself; and after having done this he returned to France. Earl Robert besieged the castle called Holme, until William Peverel and eight hundred men who defended it capitulated to him. When the king learnt this, he despatched messengers into England, and ordered twenty thousand infantry to be sent to his aid. When they were assembled at Hastings to cross the sea, Ranulf Flambart, by the king's order, took from them the money which had been given them for their provision, namely, ten shillings to each man; and ordered them to return home: this money he sent to the king.

Meanwhile all England was harassed by heavy and continual taxation, and by a mortality of men, during the present and following year. Besides this, the North Welsh first, and then the West Welsh and South Welsh, shook off the yoke of bondage by which they had long been oppressed; and raising their heads, strove to maintain their liberty. A multitude of them assembled, and stormed the castles which were fortified in West Wales, and in the provinces of Chester, Shropshire, and Hereford; they continually burnt the vills, committed depredations, and killed many of the English and Normans. They stormed also the castle in the Isle of Anglesea, and subdued it to their power. At this time the Scots, by the persuasion and encouragement of Dufenald, treacherously put to death their king Dunechan, and some others along with him; they drove all the English from Scotland, and again appointed Dufenald to be king. After this, on the fourth of the kalends of January [29th Dec.], king William returned to England, and led an army into Wales to reduce the Welsh, that is, the Britons; and there he lost many of his men and horses.

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[1] Mid lent Sunday fell this year upon 19th March.

A.D. 1095. That venerable man of most admirable life, Wulstan, bishop of the holy church of Worcester, engaged from youth in divine services, after many contests of holy toil, in which, that he might obtain the glory of the heavenly kingdom, he was most intently diligent in serving God with great devotion and lowliness of mind, departed this life, on the eighteenth day of the month of January, being in the eighteenth lustrum of his age, and the third year of the seventh lustrum of his episcopate. At the very hour of his departure, in a miraculous manner, he appeared in a vision to his friend whom he dearly loved, Robert, bishop of Hereford, in the town called Cricklade, and told him to hasten to Worcester, to bury him. Also, God allowed no one to draw from his finger the ring with which he had received the pontifical benediction; lest after his death the holy man should seem to deceive his friends, to whom he had very often before said, that he would not lose it while he had life, nor even at the day of his burial.

On the day before the nones of April [4th April], stars were seen as if falling from heaven. Walter, bishop of Albano, who had been sent as legate of the holy Roman church from pope Urban, came to England before Easter,[1] bringing to king William the pall for which he had sent the preceding year; which, according to agreement, being laid by him on the altar of the Saviour at Canterbury, on Sunday, which was the fourth of the ides of June [10th June], was taken thence by Anselm, and humbly kissed by all, out of reverence to St. Peter.

Robert, bishop of Hereford, a man of great piety, died on Tuesday, the sixth of the kalends of July [26th June]. The aforesaid Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, on the thirteenth day after he had departed this life, again appeared to him in a vision, and sharply rebuked him for his negligence and indolence; and admonished him to labour as earnestly as possible for the correction both of his own life and that of those under him; which if he did, he said that he would soon obtain from God the pardon of all his sins; and he added, that he would not long hold his see, where he now sat, but if he would be more watchful, he should banquet with himself in the presence of God. For both of these, by their exceeding love, were alike in the love of God, and so united to each other, that we may well believe that he who first departed from this life to God felt deep concern for his best loved friend, whom he had left in this world, and would do what he could that they might soon rejoice together before God.

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[1] It fell this year upon 25th March.

Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, and William de Eu, with many others, plotted to deprive king William of his kingdom and his life, and to make his aunt's son, Stephen de Albamarle, king; but in vain. For when the matter was known, the king assembled an army from all parts of England, and besieged the castle of the aforesaid earl Robert, which was situated at the mouth of the river Tyne, for two months. During that time, having stormed a certain outwork, he took almost all the earl's best soldiers, and placed them in confinement. He then besieged the castle itself, and placed in custody the earl's brother, and the knights whom he found therein. After this he fortified a castle before Bebbanbyrig [Bambrough], that is, Queen Bebba's city, to which the earl had fled, and called it Malvoisin, and having placed a garrison in it, he returned to the country south of the Humber. After his departure, those persons who were on the watch at New Castle promised earl Robert, that if he would come there secretly he should be admitted. Highly rejoicing at this, he went out one night with thirty men for this purpose; but when this was known, the knights who kept the castle followed him, and sent messengers to inform the garrison of the New Castle of his departure. Not knowing this, he attempted one Sunday to effect his design, but failed, for he was discovered. He fled, therefore, to the monastery of St. Oswin, king and martyr; when on the sixth day of its blockade, he was severely wounded in the leg while struggling with his foes, of whom many were killed, and many wounded; some of his men also were wounded, all were taken; he fled into the church, being dragged from which he was placed in confinement.

In the meanwhile the Welsh took by storm the castle of Montgomery, and killed in it some men of Hugh, the earl of Shrewsbury. The king, enraged at this, at once ordered an invasion, and after the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.], he led an army into Wales, and there lost many men and horses. Returning thence, he ordered earl Robert to be taken to Bebbanburgh, and his eyes to be put out, unless his wife and his relative Moreal should surrender the castle. Compelled by this necessity, they delivered it up; the earl was taken to Windsor, to be placed in close confinement. Moreal revealed the origin of this plot to the king.

A.D. 1096. William, bishop of Durham, died at Windsor in the king's court, on Monday, the fourth of the nones of January[1] [2d Jan.], but was buried at Durham. In the octave of the Epiphany [13th Jan.], at a council held at Salisbury, William de Eu being conquered in a trial by duel, they put out his eyes and emasculated him; and the king ordered his steward, William de Aldric, his aunt's son, who was cognisant of his treason, to be hanged. He imprisoned Odo, earl of Champagne, father of the aforesaid Stephen; Philip, brother of Roger, earl of Shrewsbury; and some others, who were sharers in the treason.

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[1] In 1096 the 4th of the nones of January fell upon a Thursday. See Florence of Worcester, p. 318.

Pope Urban came into France, and, at a council held at Clermont during Lent,[1] he exhorted the Christians to set out for Jerusalem, to subdue the Turks, Saracens, and other heathens. Through his persuasion, at once, in the very council, Raimond, count of St. Giles, and many others with him, signed themselves with the cross of Christ, and vowed that they would undertake a pilgrimage in God's behalf, and perform what the pope had recommended. On hearing of this, other Christians from Italy, Germany, France, and England, eagerly prepared themselves for the same enterprise;—the leaders[2] and chiefs of whom were the bishop of Puy,[3] with many other bishops; Peter, a monk and a hermit; Hugh the Great, the brother of Philip, king of the French; Godfrey, duke of Lorraine; Stephen de Blanio,[4] count of Chartres; Robert, earl of Normandy; Robert, earl of Flanders; the two brothers of duke Godfrey,—namely, Eustace, count of Bologne, and Baldwin, the aforesaid count Raimond; and Boamund, son of Robert Wiscard.

Samson, bishop of Worcester, was consecrated by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, in the church of St. Paul the Apostle, at London, on Sunday, the seventeenth of the kalends of July [15th June].

After this, Robert, earl of Normandy, when he designed to set out with others for Jerusalem, sent ambassadors into England, begged his brother, king William, to restore peace between them, and to lend him ten thousand marks, for which he would give him Normandy in pawn. In order to his request, William enjoined the chief men of England speedily to lend him money to the utmost of their power. Therefore the bishops, abbots, and abbesses, broke up the gold and silver ornaments of the church; earls, barons, sheriffs, plundered their soldiers and villains, and bestowed on the king no small sum of gold and silver. In the month of September he crossed the sea; and having made an agreement with his brother, he gave him six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds, and received Normandy from him as a security.

A.D. 1097. William, king of England, returned to England in Lent, and after Easter [5th April] he set out with a second army of cavalry and infantry to Wales, intending to put to death all the male inhabitants; but he could hardly capture or kill any of them, and lost some of his own men and many horses. He then sent Eadgar Atheling to Scotland with an army, that he might make his relative Eadgar, son of king Malcolm, king there, by the expulsion of his uncle Dufenald, who had seized upon the kingdom.

The Christians took the city of Nicea on Saturday, the thirteenth of the kalends of July [19th June]. A star, called a comet, appeared on the third of the kalends of October [29th Sept.], for fifteen days; some affirmed that at that time they saw in the heavens a wonderful sign like a burning cross.

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[1] This council, which confirmed the canons of the council of Clermont, held A.D. 1095, was held at Tours, in the third week in Lent. Jaffé, p. 467.

[2] See Guil. Tyrensis, lib. i. c. xvii. p. 23; and Florence of Worcester, p. 318.

[3] Adhemar de Monteil; concerning whom, see Gallia Christ. ii. 701.

[4] Stephen de Blois.

Afterwards a dissension arose between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm, because he had not been allowed to hold a synod from the time he was made archbishop, or to correct the evils which had sprung up throughout England, and so he crossed the sea and remained for a time in France, and afterwards went to Rome to pope Urban. About the feast of St. Andrew [30th Nov.], the king himself set out from England to Normandy. Baldwin, abbot of the monastery of St. Edmunds, a Frenchman by birth, a man of exemplary piety, died on the second of the kalends of January[1] [31st Dec.]. The monastery of Citeaux was begun.

A.D. 1098. Walcelin, bishop of Winchester, died on Sunday, the third of the nones of January [3d Jan.]. In this summer William the younger, then king of the English, reduced the city called Mans, and great part of that province, by force. At the same time, Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, and Hugh, earl of Chester, went with an army to the island of Menavia, commonly called Anglesey, and took prisoners many of the Welsh who were in it, killed some, and blinded some, cutting off their hands or feet, and emasculating them. They dragged from the church a certain priest of advanced age, named Cenred, from whom the Welsh received advice in their proceedings; and, having emasculated him and put out one of his eyes, they cut out his tongue; but, by the mercy of God, speech was restored to him on the third day. At that time, Magnus[2] [III.], king of the Norwegians, son of king Olave, son of king Harold Harvager, having added to his empire the Orkney and Menavian islands, came thither in a few vessels. And when he would have brought the ships to land, Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, with many armed soldiers, met him on the very shore, and, as it is said, soon was speedily stricken with an arrow, shot by the king himself, on the seventh day after he had practised this cruelty on the aforesaid priest.

The city of Antioch was taken by the Christians on Wednesday, the third of the nones of June [3d June], in which, a few days afterwards, the spear with which the Saviour of the world when hanging on the cross was wounded, was found in the church of St Peter the Apostle, through a revelation of St. Andrew, the most gracious of saints. Cheered by this discovery, the Christians, carrying it with them, issued from the city on Monday, the fourth of the kalends of July [28th June], and engaging in battle with the pagans, put to flight at the point of the sword Curbara, the chief of the soldiery of the sultan of Persia, and the Turks, Arabs, Saracens, Publicans, Azimati, Persians, Agulani, and several other tribes, slaying many thousands of them, and by the goodness of God obtaining a complete victory. An unusual light shone throughout almost the whole night on the fifth of the kalends of October

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[1] Compare Florence of Worcester, p. 319.

[2] See Anderson's Genealog. Tables, p. 423.

[27th Sept.]. In the same year, the bones of Cnut, king and martyr, were raised from their tomb by the Danes, and reverently deposited in a shrine. Roger, duke of Apulia, having assembled a large army, laid siege to the city of Capua, which had revolted from his authority. Pope Urban, accompanied as he directed by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, set out to the council which he had appointed to be held at Bari on the kalends of October [1st Oct.], in which council many matters concerning the catholic faith were debated with eloquent reasoning by the apostolic pope. There also, when the question was mooted on the part of the Greeks, (who wished to prove from the authority of the gospels that the Holy Spirit has procession only from the Father,) the aforesaid Anselm so treated, discoursed, and resolved upon the point, that there was no one in that assembly who did not agree that he was thereby fully satisfied.

A.D. 1099. Pope Urban held a great council at Rome, in the third week[1] of Easter, in which he rescinded what ought to be rescinded, and ordained what ought to be ordained; and then the whole council of the pope pronounced sentence of excommunication on the adversaries of holy church, on all laics who should grant investitures of churches, and on all receiving such investitures at their hands; also on all who should consecrate any person to the office of any such dignity thus given. He bound under an anathema those who became the vassals of laymen for the sake of ecclesiastical preferments, saying: "That it appeared a most accursed thing that those hands which had risen to such an excellency, that (as has been granted to none of the angels) by their consecration they could create God the Creator of all things, and offer His very Self for the redemption and salvation of the whole world, before the eyes of the most high God the Father, should be thrust down to such ignominy as to become the slaves of those hands which day and night were defiled by contact with obscene things, or stained by habits of robbery and unjust shedding of blood." "Amen, Amen," was exclaimed by all; and thus the council was concluded. After this, the archbishop went to Lyons.

William the younger, king of the English, returned to England from Normandy, and on Whitsunday [29th May] he held his court at London; on which occasion he gave the bishopric of Durham to Ralph, whom he had appointed manager of the business of the whole kingdom; Thomas, archbishop of York, presently consecrated him there in the church of St. Peter, on the octaves of Whitsunday, being the nones of June [5th June]. On Friday, the ides of July [15th July], Jerusalem was taken by the Christians; and afterwards, on the eleventh of the kalends of August [22d July], the same day of the week, Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, was elected king by the whole army. Pope Urban died on Thursday, the fourth of the kalends of August [29th July]. On the same day of the week, being the second of the ides of August [12th Aug.], the Christians fought a great battle before the city of Ascalon with Amiraviss, the commander of the army, and second in the royal power of the whole dominion of the king of Babylon, and by the favour of Christ obtained the victory. The reverend man Paschal, who had been ordained priest by pope Hildebrand, being elected by the Roman-people on the ides of August [13th Aug.], was consecrated pope on the following day, that is, Sunday, the nineteenth of the kalends of September [14th Aug.]. On the third of the nones of November [3d Nov.], the sea overflowed the shore, and submerged vills, and many of the inhabitants, and innumerable sheep and oxen. Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, died on Friday, the third of the nones of December [3d Dec.].

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[1] See Jaffé, p. 476. The third Sunday after Easter fell upon 1st May.

A.D. 1100. Pope Clement, called also Wibert, died. Thirty-three canons were appointed in Jerusalem, in the monastery in which our Lord's sepulchre is contained, by Godfrey, king of the same city, and the patriarch Wibert. On Sunday, the ides of July [15th July], the church at Gloucester, which abbot Serlo of revered memory had built from the foundations, was dedicated with great pomp by bishops Samson of Worcester, Gundulf of Rochester, Girard of Hereford, and Hervey of Bangor. Then, on Thursday, the fourth of the nones of August [2d Aug.], in the eighth indiction, William king of the English was killed whilst engaged in hunting in the New Forest, called in the language of the English, Ytene, being struck by an arrow heedlessly aimed by a certain Frenchman, Walter, surnamed Tirell; and being carried to Winchester, was buried in the Old Monastery, in the church of St. Peter. Nor is it strange, since, as popular rumour affirms, this was undoubtedly an act of the goodness and vengeance of God; for in ancient times (namely, in the times of king Edward, and other kings of England his predecessors), the same district abounded with inhabitants who were worshippers of God, and with churches; but, by the order of king William the elder, the men were driven out, the houses pulled down, the churches destroyed, the land only kept as a habitation of wild beasts; and this, as it is believed, was the cause of this catastrophe. For some time before this, Richard, the brother of the same king William the younger, had perished in the same forest; and, a short time before, his cousin Richard, the son of Robert earl of Normandy, had been killed when hunting, having been pierced by an arrow shot by one of his knights. On the place where the king fell, a church had been built in former times, but, as we have said, it was pulled down in the time of his father.

In the time of the same king (as has been partly noticed before), many signs occurred in the sun, the moon, and the stars; the sea also very often overpassed its bounds, and drowned both men and cattle, and overthrew many vills and houses. Also the devil frequently showed himself in the woods in a horrible shape to many Normans, openly spoke with them concerning the king, and Ralph, and some others. And no wonder; for in their time almost all legal justice was disregarded, and when causes were brought before the courts, money alone governed among the nobles. Lastly, at the same time, as some regarded the king's will more than justice, Ralph—contrary to ecclesiastical law and the order of his rank (for he was a priest)—received anew from the king, first abbeys, and then bishoprics, whose rulers had died, and exposed them for sale; and hence each year he made no small sum of money. His policy and talent were so serviceable, and he increased so much in a short time, that the king appointed him administrator and collector of the whole kingdom. Having received this great authority, he amerced the richer and more wealthy by the seizure of their property and lands everywhere throughout England; the poorer he continually oppressed by heavy and unjust taxation; and in many ways, both before and during the time of his episcopate, he harassed both great and small; and this system he continued up to the time of this king's death. For on the very day when he was killed, the king held in his own hand the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the sees of Winchester and Salisbury. This king reigned thirteen years, save thirty-eight days. His younger brother Henry succeeded him, and afterwards was consecrated king at Westminster, by Maurice, bishop of London, on Sunday, being the nones of August [5th Aug.]. On the day of his consecration, he set free the church of God, which had been sold and put to farm in his brother's time, and abrogated all the bad customs and unjust exactions by which the kingdom of England had been iniquitously oppressed; he established secure peace in the whole of his kingdom, and ordered it to be kept; he restored to all alike the law of king Edward, together with those improvements with which his father had amended it; but yet he retained and held in his own hand the forests which he had made. Not long after, he committed Ralph, bishop of Durham, to prison in the Tower of London; and recalled from France, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. Meanwhile, first the earls Robert of Flanders and Eustace of Bologne returned home from Jerusalem; and then earl Robert of Normandy returned to his country, with a wife whom he had married in Sicily. At this time, Henry king of the English assembled the elders of England at London, and took in marriage the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots, and queen Margaret, Matilda by name; whom Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated queen, and crowned on Sunday, being the feast of St. Martin [11th Nov.]. Thomas, archbishop of York, a man of revered memory and extraordinary piety, affable and kind to all, departed this life at York, on Sunday, the fourteenth of the kalends of December [18th Nov.]. Gerard, bishop of Hereford, succeeded him.

A.D. 1101. King Henry held his court at London on Christmas-day, when Louis, the elect king of the French, was present. After Christmas, Ralph, bishop of Durham, escaped by great cunning from prison and crossed the sea; he went to Robert, earl of the Normans, and persuaded him to invade England; and besides this, many nobles of this country sent messengers to him, and begged him to hasten to England, promising him the crown and kingdom. The city of Gloucester, with the principal monastery and others, was consumed by fire, on Thursday, the eighth of the ides of June [6th June]. Robert, earl of the Normans, collecting a great multitude of horse, archers, and foot, assembled his ships at the place called, in the Norman tongue, Ultresport. When the king knew this, he ordered his sailors to guard the coast, and watch lest any one from the Norman coast should land in England. He then collected an innumerable army from all England, and pitched his camp in Sussex, not far from Hastings; for he concluded for certain that his brother would effect a landing in that district. But, by advice of bishop Ralph, he so seduced some of the king's sailors, by promises of various kinds, that, laying aside the allegiance which they owed to the king, they fled to him, and became his pilots to England. Therefore, when all was ready he embarked with his army, and about the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula [1st Aug.] he landed at the place called Portsmouth; and immediately marching his army towards Winchester, he pitched his camp in a suitable position. On the news of his arrival, some of the nobles of England came over to him, as they had before arranged to do, and some remained with the king, with feigned regard. But the bishops, common soldiers, and English, stood by him with a steadfast determination, unanimously resolving to go forth with him to battle. But the more discreet on each side, taking salutary counsel among themselves, arranged a treaty between the two brothers, on the condition that the king should pay the earl yearly three thousand marks of silver, and should freely restore to all persons their former rank which they had forfeited in England by their adherence to the earl; and that the earl should restore without payment their honours to all those from whom they had been taken away in Normandy on the king's account. This being arranged, the king's army returned home; part of the earl's returned to Normandy, and part remained with him in England.

Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, who had been the most potent duke of Lorraine, son of Eustace the elder, earl of Bologne, ended his life, and rests interred in the church of Golgotha. After his death the Christians, with one consent, elected his brother Baldwin king.

Robert de Belesme, earl of Shropshire, son of earl Roger, began to rebuild, with a broad and high wall, the fortress which Agelfled, the lady of the Mercians, had formerly built on the south side of the river Severn, at the place called, in the Saxon tongue, Bricge [Bridgenorth], in the reign of her brother king Eadward, in opposition (as the event proved) to king Henry. He began, also, to build another in Wales, at the place called Carrocove.

A.D. 1102. The aforesaid earl Robert de Belesme (who at that time also ruled the earldom of the province of Ponthieu, and possessed many castles in Normandy) strongly fortified against king Henry the city of Shrewsbury and the castle therein, and also the castles of Arundel and Tickhill, with provisions, munitions of war, horsemen, and infantry. He hastened by every means to complete the walls and towers of the castles of Bridgenorth and Carrocove, labouring and working day and night. He incited the Welshmen also who were under his control, by honours, lands, horses and arms, and by abundantly bestowing various gifts, in order to render them more active and faithful to him, and more resolute to accomplish his designs; but his plans and labours were very soon interrupted; for, his treachery and plots being exposed by clear proofs, the king pronounced him a public enemy. Therefore, he speedily assembled as many Britons and Normans as he could, and he and his brother Arnold ravaged part of the county of Stafford, and carried off from thence into Wales many cattle and horses, and some men. But the king laid siege without delay, first, to the castle of Arundel, and having planted fortresses before it, retired; he then ordered Robert, bishop of the city of Lincoln, with part of the army to lay siege to Tickhill; and he himself beleaguered Bridgenorth with the army of almost all England, and began there to construct machines and fortify a castle. Meanwhile, he easily corrupted by small bribes the Britons, in whom Robert placed great confidence, to break the oaths of fidelity which they had sworn to him, and caused them to revolt from him, and rise against him. Within thirty days, the city and all the castles having surrendered, he vanquished his enemy Robert, and ignominiously expelled him from England; soon after which, he condemned to a similar fate his brother Arnold for his treachery.

After this, on the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.], the king was in London and Westminster, and all the nobles of the kingdom of ecclesiastical and secular rank with him. Here he invested two of his clerks with two bishoprics; namely, Roger his chancellor, with the bishopric of Salisbury, and Roger his larderer, with that of Hereford. There also archbishop Anselm held a great council, about matters which concerned Christianity: there sat with him, Gerard, archbishop of York; Maurice, bishop of London; William, bishop elect of Winchester; Robert, bishop of Lincoln; Sampson, bishop of Worcester; Robert, bishop of Chester; John, bishop of Bath; Herbert, bishop of Norwich; Ralph, bishop of Chichester; Gundulf, bishop of Rochester; Hervey, bishop of Bangor; and the two recently invested bishops named Roger. Osbern, bishop of Exeter, could not be present, for he was prevented by illness. Nor was Ralph, bishop of Durham, present at this council. In it many abbots, as well French as English, were deposed, and deprived of the rank which they had iniquitously acquired, or in which they had lived lewdly: to wit, Wido of Pershore; Aldwin of Romsey; the abbot of Tavistock; Haimo, abbot of Cernel; the abbot of Michelney; Agelric, abbot of Middleton; Godric, abbot of Peterburgh; Richard, abbot of Ely; and Robert, abbot of St. Eadmunds. Priests also were forbidden to have concubines; hereupon many of them shut the doors of the churches, leaving off all church services. The aforesaid Roger, bishop elect of Hereford, was seized with illness and died; and the king's chancellor Reinelm was substituted in his place, with a like mode of investiture. Henry, king of the English, gave Mary, sister of queen Matilda, in marriage to Eustace, earl of Boulogne.

A.D. 1103. A great dissension arose between king Henry and archbishop Anselm, because the archbishop would not consent that the king should grant investitures of churches; nor would he consecrate nor communicate with those persons to whom the king had already given churches: because the apostolic pope had forbidden him and all others to do so. Wherefore, the king directed Gerard, archbishop of York, to consecrate the bishops to whom he himself had given investitures; namely, William Giffard, and Roger, who was the king's chaplain, to whom he had given the church of Salisbury. Gerard undertook what the king ordered; but William spurned both the king's orders and archbishop Gerard's benediction, having regard to the righteousness of the matter. Wherefore, he was stripped of all his property by the king's sentence, and was banished from the kingdom; while the others remained unconsecrated. A short time previously, Reinelm had surrendered up the see of Hereford to the king, because he perceived that he had offended God, in having accepted the investiture of a church from the hand of a layman. At Easter [29th March] following, the king held his court at Winchester. Archbishop Anselm, after many wrongs and divers insults which he endured, went to Rome at the king's desire, on the fifth of the kalends of May [27th April], as had been agreed upon by him and the king. He took with him William, bishop elect of the church of Winchester, and the abbots who had been deposed from their abbeys, Richard elect of Ely, and Aldwin, abbot of Ramsey. Robert, earl of Normandy, came to England to confer with his brother; and before his return, he remitted the three thousand marks of silver which the king owed him yearly, by their agreement. In the province called Berkshire, at the place called Heamstede, blood was seen by many to flow from the earth. In the same year, on the third of the ides of August [11th Aug.], a great storm of wind arose, which did so much damage to the fruits of the earth throughout England, as those who then lived had never experienced in times past.

A.D. 1104. Two reverend abbots died; Walter, abbot of Evesham, on the thirteenth of the kalends of February [20th Jan.], and Serlo, abbot of Gloucester, on the fourth of the nones of March [4th March]. Henry, king of England, held his court on Whitsunday [5th June], at Westminster. On Tuesday,—that is, the seventh of the ides of June [7th June],—four circles were seen around the sun of a white colour, about the sixth hour, each circle being, as it were, painted under another. All who saw them were astonished, since no one had ever seen such appearances before. William, earl of Moreton, was dispossessed of all the land which he held in England. The misery which the land of England at that time suffered from the exactions of the king cannot easily be described. The body of St. Cuthbert[1] was disinterred, on account of the incredulity of certain persons, and was exhibited (in the episcopate of bishop Ralph) in the presence of earl Alexander, who afterwards became king of Scots, and many others. Ralph, abbot of Seez, afterwards bishop of Rochester, and ultimately archbishop of Canterbury, and the brethren of the church of Durham, having examined it closely, discovered that it was uncorrupted, and so flexible in its joints, that it seemed more like a man asleep than one dead; and this occurred four hundred and eighteen years, five months, and twelve days, after his burial. This happened in the fifth year of king Henry, in the sixth of the episcopate of Ralph, and five thousand three hundred and eight years from the beginning of the world.

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[1] See the illustrative documents at the end of the volume. [B.]

A.D. 1105. Henry, king of the English, crossed the sea; almost all the chief of the Normans abandoned the earl, their sovereign, and repudiating the fealty which they owed him, they ran after the gold and silver which the king had brought thither from England, and surrendered their castles, fortified cities, and towns to him. He burnt Bayeux, with the church of St. Mary which was in it, and took Caen from his brother, and then he came back to England (since he was unable to reduce the whole of Normandy), in order that he might return thither next year with a more abundant supply of money, in order to dispossess his brother, and bring the remainder into subjection to himself.

A.D. 1106. Earl Robert of Normandy came to England, to confer with his brother, king Henry, whom he found at Northampton. The earl then begged of him to restore what he had taken from him in Normandy; all which the king refused to do. Thereupon, the earl departed in anger, and crossed the sea. In the first week of Lent, on Friday, the fourteenth of the kalends of March [16th Feb.], an unusual star appeared in the evening, and for twenty-five days was seen shining at the same hour, and in the same manner, between the south and west. For it appeared small and obscure, but the light which proceeded from it was very brilliant, and an effulgence from the north-east like a great beam threw itself upon the same star. Some said that they saw many unusual stars at that time.

On the night of Maundy Thursday [22d March] two moons appeared a little before daybreak, one in the east and another in the west, both being full, and the moon was then fourteen days old. In this year a very abominable contention arose between Henry [IV.] emperor of the Romans, and his son Henry; and in the same year this emperor died, after a reign of fifty years; his son Henry [V.] succeeded him. Henry, king of the English, crossed the sea before the month of August, and went to Normandy; thereupon almost all the chiefs of the Normans yielded to him, except Robert de Belesme, William of Moreton, and a few others who remained firm to earl Robert. On the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], came to Bec, Henry, king of the English, where he and archbishop Anselm met, and at length all the differences which had kept them asunder were brought to an amicable settlement. Not long after this, the same archbishop returned to England, by the order and at the request of the king. The king, having collected an army, marched to a certain castle of the earl of Moreton, called Tenercebrei, and laid siege to it. While he lay there, earl Robert, the king's brother, came upon him with his army, on the eve of St. Michael [28th Sept.], and with him Robert de Belesme, and earl William of Moreton; but the right and the victory were on the king's side. There were taken prisoners, earl Robert of Normandy, and William earl of Moreton, and Robert de Stutevill; Robert de Belesme took to flight, and William Crispin was captured, and many others with him. Having accomplished this, the king subdued the whole of Normandy, and governed it according to his own will, and by letters informed the archbishop of this.

A.D. 1107. Eadgar, king of Scots, died on the sixth of the ides of January [8th Jan.]; his brother Alexander succeeded him. Normandy being brought under the king's rule, and Robert earl of the Normans, and William earl of Moreton, being sent prisoners into England, the king himself returned to his kingdom before Easter [14th April]. On the kalends of August [1st Aug.], an assembly of all the bishops, abbots, and nobles of the kingdom was held in the king's palace at London; and for three days a great debate took place, in the absence of Anselm, between the king and the bishop about the investitures of churches; some striving to bring this about, that the king should act in regard to investitures as his father and brother had done, and not according to the precept and obedience of the apostolic see. For pope Paschal, while he stood firm in the sentence which had been published on that point, had yet conceded all things which pope Urban had forbidden equally with investitures, and by so doing had brought the king to accordance with him in the matter of investitures. Then, Anselm being present, the king agreed and ordained before the assembly that, from that time, no one should ever in future in England be invested with a bishopric or abbey by the giving of the staff or ring by the king, or by any lay hand; Anselm also enacted that no one who was elected to a bishopric should be deprived of consecration to the dignity conferred upon him, on account of the homage which he should make to the king. Gerard, archbishop of York, placing his hand on that of Anselm, promised that he would yield him the same subjection and obedience in his archbishopric as he had promised when consecrated by him as bishop of the church of Hereford. The bishops elect, William of Winchester, Reinelm of Hereford, Roger of Salisbury, William of Exeter, and Urban of the church of Glamorgan in Wales, came at the same time to Canterbury, and they were consecrated by Anselm on Sunday, which was the third of the ides of August [11th Aug.], the suffragans of his see assisting him in this service. Also Gerard, archbishop of York, was present at their consecration, at the request of Anselm. There was certainly no one at that time who remembered so many pastors having been elected and ordained together in England in former days, except in the time of Eadward the elder, when archbishop Plegmund ordained in one day seven bishops to seven churches.

In this year also died Maurice, bishop of London; Richard, abbot of Ely; Robert, abbot of St. Edmunds; Milo Crispin; Robert Fitz Hamo; Roger Bigot, and Richard de Redvers.

A.D. 1108. Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, died on the nones of March [7th March]. Henry, king of England, having established peace, decreed by a firm law, that any one who was caught in theft or robbery should be hanged. He also enacted that debased and false money should be amended, and this under so high a penalty that no ransom should avail any one convicted of coining false coin, but that they should lose their eyes and the lower limbs of their bodies. And since it very often happened, that when coin was examined, they were found to be bent, broken, and refused, he ordained that no penny or half-penny, (which he also fixed should be round,) or even any farthing, should be unalloyed. From this great good arose to the whole kingdom, for the king did this to relieve the distresses of the land in secular matters.

Gerard, archbishop of York, died; and in his place Thomas, the provost of the church of Beverley, the cousin of his predecessor Thomas, was chosen. Philip [I.], king of the French, died, and his son Louis succeeded him. Henry, king of the English, crossed the sea. Archbishop Anselm, at the king's request, consecrated Richard, bishop elect of the church of London, in his chapel at Paggaham, (having first received from him the usual profession of obedience and subjection,) four other bishops assisting him in this office,—namely, William, bishop of Winchester; Roger, bishop of Salisbury; Ralph, bishop of Chichester; and William, bishop of Exeter. After this he went to Canterbury, and on the third of the ides of August[1] [11th Aug.] he consecrated Ralph, abbot of Seez, a religious man, to the church of Rochester, in the room of Gundulf. On that day, Richard, bishop of London, showed his respect to his mother, the church of Canterbury, by a handsome present, after the custom of his predecessors.

These are the statutes concerning archdeacons, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and secular canons, which Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and with him Thomas, archbishop elect of York, and all the other bishops of England, ordained in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and eight, in presence of the illustrious king Henry, with the assent of his barons.

"It was enacted that priests, deacons, and sub-deacons should live chastely, and should not have in their houses any women except those allied to them by near relationship, according to what the holy Nicene council has decreed. Those priests, deacons, or sub-deacons, who, after the prohibition of the synod of London, have retained their wives, or married others, if they wish any more to celebrate mass, shall put them away from them so entirely, that neither shall they enter the women's houses, nor the women theirs; and neither shall they knowingly meet in any house, nor shall any women of this sort reside in the territory of the church; and if for any proper reason it be necessary to confer with them, they shall meet out of doors in the presence of two lawful witnesses.

"If any of them shall be accused by two or three lawful witnesses, or by common report of the parishioners, of having violated this statute, he shall purge himself by calling fit witnesses according to his degree; six, if he shall be a priest,—four, if a deacon,—two, if a sub-deacon; but if this purgation shall fail, he shall be judged as a transgressor of the sacred canon.

"Those priests who, in despite of the divine altar and holy orders, shall rather choose to dwell with women, shall be removed from their divine function, and, deprived of every ecclesiastical benefice, shall be put out of the choir and pronounced infamous.

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[1] As the 11th August fell upon a Tuesday in A.D. 1108; this date is doubtful.

"Those rebellious and contumacious persons, who have not left their wives, and yet presumed to celebrate mass, if they do not appear, on being called to make satisfaction, they shall be excommunicated in eight days.

"The same sentence embraces archdeacons and all canons, both with respect to relinquishing their wives and avoiding their conversation, and the infliction of this censure, in case they shall transgress the statutes.

"All archdeacons shall swear that they will not accept any bribe for tolerating an infringement of this statute; or allow priests, whom they know to have wives, to chant the mass, or put in vicars: deans shall do likewise.

"Any archdeacon or dean who will not take this oath shall lose his archdeaconry or deanery.

"Those priests who give up their wives, and choose to serve God and his holy altars, shall be suspended from officiating for forty days, during which time they may appoint vicars in their room, and shall suffer penance according as their bishops shall see fit."

A.D. 1109. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, died at Canterbury, on Wednesday, the eleventh of the kalends of May [21st April], and was honourably buried on the following day, which was Maundy Thursday. Henry, king of the English, returned to England about Rogation week,[1] and at Whitsuntide [13th June] he held his court at Westminster. Thomas, archbishop elect of York, was consecrated at London, by Richard, bishop of London, on the fifth of the kalends of July [27th June]; and afterwards, on Sunday,[2] the third of the kalends of August [30th July], received at York, from cardinal Ulric, the pall which the pope had sent him. And on the same day he consecrated Turgot, prior of Durham, to the bishopric of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, which is called Cenrimunt. In the same year, the king erected the abbacy of Ely into an episcopal see, and preferred to the same church Hervey, bishop of Bangor. A comet appeared in the month of December about the milky way, pointing towards the southern region of the heavens.

A.D. 1110. Henry, king of the English, gave his daughter in marriage to the emperor Henry; and sent her, at the beginning of Lent, which was the fourth of the ides of April[3] [10th April], from Dover to Whitsand. In the same year, divers signs appeared throughout England. A great earthquake occurred at Shrewsbury. At Nottingham, the river called the Trent was dried up for the space of a mile, from morning to the third hour of the day; so that men could go through its bed dryshod. A comet appeared on the sixth of the ides of June [8th June], and shone for three weeks.

A.D. 1111. Henry, king of the Germans, went to Rome, took pope Paschal [II.] and placed him in confinement; but afterwards, at the bridge on the Via Salaria, where they celebrated the Easter festival in the Campus, he made a treaty[1] with him. In this way a reconciliation was effected between the king and the sovereign pope. This is the king's oath:—

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[1] Rogation Sunday fell upon 30th May. [2] The 30th of July fell upon a Friday.

[3] Another error; in A.D. 1110 Ash-Wednesday fell upon 23d of February; 10th April was Easter-day.

"I, Henry, king, will set free, on Thursday or Friday next, the sovereign pope, and the bishops and cardinals, and all the prisoners and hostages which have been taken, either with him or for him, and I will cause them to be safely conducted within the gates of the city, beyond the river Tiber; nor will I again capture, or permit to be captured, those who continue in their fealty to the sovereign pope Paschal: and I will keep peace and quietness by me and by mine, in person and property, with the Roman people, both of the city beyond the Tiber and island, provided they keep peace with me. I will faithfully assist the sovereign pope Paschal to hold the popedom in peace and safety. I will restore the patrimonies and possessions of the Roman church which I have taken away; I will faithfully aid her to recover and hold all things which she ought to have by custom, as my predecessors have done; and I will obey the sovereign pope Paschal, saving the honour of my kingdom and empire, in like manner as the catholic emperors have obeyed the catholic Roman pontiffs. All these things I will observe in good faith, without guile and treachery."

These are the jurors on the part of the king: Frederic, archbishop of Cologne; Gebehard, bishop of Trent; Burchard, bishop of Munster; Bruno, bishop of Spires; Albert, chancellor; earl Herimann; Frederic, count Palatine; earl Berengarius; count Frederic; marquis Boniface; Albert, earl de Blandriac; count Frederic; count Godfrey; marquis Warner.

The second agreement between the pope and the king:—

"The sovereign pope, Paschal the second, will grant to the sovereign king, Henry, and to his kingdom, and will confirm and enforce under anathema, this his privilege; that it shall be lawful for the sovereign king to invest with the ring and staff any bishop or abbot, who shall have been freely elected without simony by the king's consent; and a bishop or abbot so invested by the king shall freely receive consecration by the bishop to whom it belongs. And if any one be chosen by the clergy and people, he shall not be consecrated by any one unless he be invested by the king; and the archbishops and bishops shall have liberty to consecrate those persons so invested by the king. In none of these things shall the sovereign pope Paschal molest king Henry, nor his kingdom, nor his empire."

This is the oath on the part of the pope:—

"The sovereign pope Paschal will not molest king Henry, nor his kingdom, nor empire, on account of the investiture of bishoprics and abbacies, nor on account of the injury inflicted on him and his people; nor will he return evil to him, or to any one, for this cause. And he will not on any account pronounce an anathema on the person of king Henry; nor shall there be any delay in the sovereign pope in crowning him, as is contained in the ritual. And by the influence of his office he will assist him to the utmost of his ability to hold his kingdom and empire; and the sovereign pope will fulfil this without guile or treachery."

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[1] See Jaffé, p. 521.

These are the names of those bishops and cardinals who confirmed by oath the grant and amity to the sovereign emperor Henry, by the order of the sovereign pope Paschal the second: Peter, bishop of Porto; Centius, bishop of Sabina; Robert, cardinal of St. Eusebius; Boniface, cardinal of St. Mark; Anastasius, cardinal of St. Clement; Gregory, cardinal of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul; likewise Gregory, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus; John, cardinal of St. Potentiana; Risus, cardinal of St. Laurence; Reiner, cardinal of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter; Vitalis, cardinal of St. Balbina; Duiuzo, cardinal of St. Martin; Theobald, cardinal of St. John and St. Paul; John, deacon of St. Mary, in the Greek school.

This is the privilege of the sovereign pope, which he made to the emperor respecting the investitures of bishoprics:—

"Paschal, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dearly beloved son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of the Germans, and, by the grace of God, august emperor of the Romans, wishes health and apostolic benediction.

"The divine appointment has so ordered it, that your kingdom is very closely connected with the holy Roman church. The predecessors of your excellency, by virtue of superior wisdom, obtained the crown and empire of the city of Rome; to the dignity of this crown and empire the Divine Majesty has advanced your person, most beloved son, Henry, by the ministry of our priesthood. That prerogative of rank which our predecessors conceded to your predecessors, the catholic emperors, and have confirmed by written documents, we also concede to you, beloved friend, and confirm it by the instrument of this present grant; to wit, that you shall freely confer the investiture of the staff and ring upon those bishops or abbots of your kingdom, except those elected by violence or simony; and that, after such investiture, they shall canonically receive consecration from the bishop to whom it pertains.' But if any one shall be elected by the clergy and people, without your assent, he shall not be consecrated by any one, unless he be invested by you. The bishops, or archbishops, shall truly have liberty of consecrating canonically such bishops or abbots as are invested by you. For your predecessors have so bountifully furnished the churches of their kingdom with great endowments out of their royalties, that it is especially proper that their empire should be strengthened by the aid of bishops or abbots; and it is necessary that the popular tumults, which often happen in elections, should be restrained by royal authority. Wherefore, you ought all the more earnestly to apply your wisdom and authoritative care, that the dignity of the Roman church, and the safety of others, may be preserved in their benefices and services, under the protection of God. If, therefore, any ecclesiastic or secular person shall audaciously attempt to pervert the import of this our grant, he shall be bound with the chain of anathema, unless he repent; and shall also incur the loss of his rank and dignity. May the divine mercy guard those who observe it, and grant your majesty to govern happily, to his honour and glory."

By these agreements and oaths, harmony was restored between the sovereign pope and the emperor, at the feast of Easter [2d April]. On the ides of April following [13th April], the emperor went to Rome, and the pope celebrated mass, and consecrated him emperor, in the church of St. Peter, and gave absolution to him, and all his people, and forgave every injury done to himself. Henry, king of the English, removed into Wales the Flemings who inhabited Northumbria, with all their implements, and directed them to dwell in the territory called Ross. By the agency of William, bishop of Winchester, the king ordered that the New Monastery, which was within the walls of Winchester, should be built outside the walls; and not long after, he crossed the sea. In this year occurred a very severe winter, a great famine, a mortality of men, a murrain among animals, as well in the fields as in the houses, and a very great destruction of birds.

A.D. 1112. The decision of a council held against the heresy respecting investiture:—

"In the thirteenth year of the pontificate of the sovereign pope Paschal the second, the fifth indiction, in the month of March, the fifteenth of the kalends of April [18th March], a council was held at Rome, in the Lateran, in the church of Constantine; in which, when the sovereign pope had taken his seat, with the archbishops, bishops, and cardinals, and a mixed multitude of clergy and laity, on the last day of the council, having before them all made profession of the catholic faith, lest any one should doubt his belief, the pope said: 'I embrace all holy Scripture, to wit, of the Old and New Testament, the Law written by Moses, and the holy Prophets. I embrace the four Gospels, the seven canonical Epistles, the Epistles of the glorious doctor the blessed apostle Paul, the sacred canons of the apostles, the four general councils (as I embrace the four Gospels), those, namely, of Nice, Ephesus, Constantinople, and Chalcedon; the council of Antioch, the decrees of the holy fathers, the Roman pontiffs, and especially those of my lord pope Gregory the seventh, and pope Urban of blessed memory. What they accepted, I accept; what they held, I hold; what they confirmed, I confirm; what they condemned, I condemn; what they rejected, I reject; what they interdicted, I interdict; what they prohibited, I prohibit, in all and through all; and in these things I will always remain constant.'"

When this was done, Gerard,[1] bishop of Engouleme, legate in Aquitania, rose for all, and, by common consent of the sovereign pope Paschal and the whole council, he read this writing in the presence of the assembly:—

"All we who are assembled in this sacred council, with the lord the pope, do, by canonical censure and ecclesiastical authority, and by the judgment of the Holy Spirit, condemn and pronounce to be void and of no effect, that grant (which is no privilege, but ought rather to be called a violation of the law) for the liberation of captives and of the church, extorted from the sovereign pope Paschal by the violence of king Henry; and we utterly anathematize it, so that it may have no authority nor effect. And it is condemned on this account, because in that grant is contained the clause, that one elected by the clergy and people shall not be consecrated by any one unless he be first invested by the king, a thing which is contrary to the Holy Spirit and to canonical order."

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[1] Gerard de Blaye; concerning whom see Gallia Christ. ii. 999.

This charter being read through, the whole council exclaimed, "Amen, Amen! So be it, So be it!" These are the archbishops who were present, with their suffragans: John, patriarch of Venice; Senues, of Capua; Landulf, of Benevento; the prelates of Almafi, Reggio, Otranto, Brindisi, Capsa, Geronto; and the Greeks, Rosanus, and the archbishop of St. Severino; also bishops Peter, of Porto; Leo, of Ostia; Cono, of Prenesti; Gerard, of Engouleme; Galo, of Leon; the legate for the archbishops of Bourges and Vienne; Roger, of Volaterra; Ganfrid, of Sienna; Rolland, of Populonia; Gregory, of Terracina; William, of Traia; Gibinus, of Syracuse, the legate for all the Sicilians; and about a hundred other bishops. Siguin, and John of Tusculum, bishops, although they were at Rome on that day, were not present at the council; but, after having read the condemnation of the iniquitous decree, they assented and approved.

In this year (namely, 1112), archbishop Thomas mourned over the church of Hexham; for it was almost reduced to a desert, and it had been given as the portion of a certain prebend of the church of York. In order to grace it by the concourse of the devout, he placed in it canons regular, on the kalends of November [1st Nov.], over whom there presided, as first prior, Aschatil, a canon of Huntingdon, a man kind to all. Sampson, bishop of Worcester, died on the third of the nones of May [5th May]. Henry, king of the English, having captured count Robert de Belesme, in the month of October, put him in confinement in Carisbrook.

A.D. 1113. The monks of Tyron came to England ten years before the monks of Savigni came. The monks of Tyron came to Selkirk in the country of David, king of Scotland, and remained there for fifteen years. The city of Worcester, with the cathedral church and all the others, and the castle, was consumed by fire on Thursday, the thirteenth of the kalends of July [19th June]. One of the most useful monks in the monastery, with two servants and fifteen of the citizens, perished in the fire. Henry, king of the English, returned to England in the month of July, and placed in the closest confinement at Wareham, earl Robert de Belesme, whom he brought over from Normandy. Teulf, the king's chaplain, received the bishopric of Worcester at Windsor.

A.D. 1114. Matilda, the daughter of Henry, king of the English, was married to Henry, emperor of the Romans, at Mentz on the eighth of the ides of January [6th Jan.], and was consecrated empress. Thomas, archbishop of York, a man of exemplary piety, died on Tuesday, the sixth of the kalends of March [24th Feb.]. Besides his other deeds of holy virtues, he went to the Lord in the purity of virginity. With how great uprightness of character and innocent purity of life he was adorned, both before and during his episcopate, cannot, I think, be expressed by any human language. Ralph, bishop of Rochester, was elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury, at Windsor, on Sunday, the sixth of the kalends of May [26th April]. The city of Chichester, with the principal monastery, was consumed by fire, through culpable carelessness, on Tuesday, the third of the nones of May [5th May]. Turstin, the king's chaplain, was elected at Winchester to the archiepiscopate of York, on the day of the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.], and Arnulf, abbot of Peterborough, was elected bishop of the church of Rochester. Henry, king of the English, after he had marched an army into Wales, crossed the sea before the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.]. On the sixth of the ides of October [10th. Oct.], the river called the Medway became so low for some miles, that the smallest boats could not possibly keep afloat in the middle of its bed, on account of the deficiency of water. And the same deficiency of water appeared the same day in the Thames; for between the bridge and the king's Tower,[1] likewise under the bridge itself, the water of that river was so shallow that an innumerable multitude of men and boys, not only on horseback but even on foot, crossed it, the water scarcely reaching their knees. This want of water lasted from the middle of one night to the middle of the following night. We have learnt by trustworthy report, that a similar want of water occurred on the same day at Yarmouth, and in other places throughout England.

A.D. 1115. In this year there was a very hard winter; so much so, that almost all the bridges throughout England were broken by the ice. The emperor Henry, after having long besieged Cologne, and lost many of his men on the field of battle, made peace with the city, which was confirmed and certified by oath. On Sunday, the fifth of the kalends of July [27th June], Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, received the pall from Anselm, legate of the holy Roman church, at Canterbury, where were assembled the bishops of all England. And on the same day, Teoulf, bishop of the church of Worcester, was consecrated with great pomp. Wilfrid, bishop of St. David's in Wales, died. The British bishops continued till his time. In the octaves of the apostles,[2] a great council was held at Châlons, by Cono, cardinal of the Roman church; in which he excommunicated the bishops who were not present at the council; some he degraded; and many abbots were deprived of their staffs, deposed from their seats, and forbidden to exercise their ecclesiastical functions. Henry, king of the English, returned to England in the middle of the month of July. Turgot, formerly prior of the church of Durham, but at this time bishop of the Scots, returning to Durham, there ended his life. Bernard the queen's chancellor was elected bishop of the church of St. David in Wales; Reinelm, bishop of Hereford, died about the feast of All Saints [1st Nov.]; and Gosfrid, the king's chaplain, was elected in his place. On the day of St. Stephen, martyr [26th Dec.], in Christ's church, Canterbury, Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, ordained Arnulf, abbot of Peterborough, as bishop of the church of Rochester, and Gaufrid to the see of Hereford.

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[1] Compare Florence of Worcester, p. 334.

[2] Namely, St. John and St. Paul [6th July].

A.D. 1116. In the spring time, Griffin ap Res committed depredations, and burnt castles in Wales, because Henry, king of England, would not give him any portion of the land of his father. An assembly of the nobles and barons of all England took place at Salisbury, on the fourteenth of the kalends of April [19th March]; and there, in the presence of king Henry, they did homage to his son William, and swore fealty to him. The cause was tried respecting the dispute which had been carried on for a whole year between Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, and Turstin, archbishop elect of York. The latter, being admonished by the archbishop himself, upon his election, to perform what was due to the church of Canterbury, and to receive his blessing, according to ecclesiastical prescript, replied, that he would indeed willingly receive his blessing, but would on no account make the profession which he demanded,[1] beyond that which the blessed pope Gregory had appointed. For he had laid down this rule between the two archbishops of England, and morever, after him, pope Honorius [VI.] had done the same in like manner, that neither of them should make profession of subjection to the other, save only that he who was first consecrated should be reckoned the superior during his own life; an arrangement well becoming the servants of God, that in true humility they should be lowly the one to the other, and no one should desire to exercise lordship or authority over the other, as our Lord, the preacher and lover of true humility, when rebuking his disciples who were striving about this very thing, said to them, "Whosoever will be chief among you shall be servant of all." (St. Mark x. 43.) And of a truth, none of the archbishops of Canterbury after the blessed Augustine (who should be called not so much the archbishop, as the apostle of the English) presumed to claim the primacy of all England down to the time of archbishop Theodore, to whom, on account of his extraordinary skill in ecclesiastical discipline, all the bishops of England agreed to submit, as Beda,[2] in his Ecclesiastical History of the Angles, testifies, thus writing of him: "He was the first among the archbishops to whom all the bishops of Britain consented to yield obedience." Wherefore Turstin would make no other profession of subjection to the archbishop of Canterbury, except that which the blessed pope Gregory had appointed. But king Henry, when he found that Turstin stood to his resolution, openly declared that he should either follow the custom of his predecessors, both in making the profession, and in all other things appertaining of ancient right to the dignity of the church of Canterbury, or should altogether lose the episcopate of York, and the benediction also. On hearing this, he, hastily yielding to the impulse of his own will, renounced the archbishopric, promising the king and the archbishop that, as long as he lived, he would not claim it, nor would he raise any cavils whoever should be appointed.

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[1] Compare Florence of Worcester, p. 334.

[2] Eccl. Hist. § 256.

Owen, king of the Britons, was slain; and Henry, king of the English, crossed the sea, Turstin, archbishop elect of York, accompanying him, in the hope that he might recover the investiture of his archbishopric, and obtain the benediction from the archbishop by the king's order, without the exaction of the profession. About the month of August, Anselm, who had brought the pall to the archbishop of Canterbury from Rome, coming again from Rome, went to king Henry in Normandy, bearing letters from the apostolic see, which granted him the administration of affairs as the pope's legate in England. This speedily became known in the kingdom of England; wherefore, by the united advice of the queen and some of the nobles of England, Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, after the feast of the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], crossed the sea and went to the king, whom he found staying at Rouen; and, having earnestly discussed with him the business about which he had come with reference to the state of affairs, by his advice he set out on his journey to Rome.

A.D. 1117. According to the order of king Henry, the new building was commenced at Cirencester. A great earthquake took place in Lombardy, and, as those who know have affirmed, it continued for the space of forty days, and destroyed many houses; and, what appears wonderful to see or to tell, a certain very large town was suddenly removed from its situation, and in the sight of all stopped at a place far remote. Whilst some men of patrician rank at Milan, occupied in affairs of state, were assembled in a tower, a voice without sounded in the ears of all, calling one of them by name, and begging him to go out quickly. On his delaying, a certain form appeared before them, and by entreaty induced him to depart. On his going out, the tower suddenly fell, and crushed by its unhappy fall all who were there present. On the kalends of December [1st Dec.] there was excessive thunder and lightning, which was followed by a great inundation of rain and hail; and on the third of the ides of December [11th Dec.] the moon appeared as of a bloody colour, and afterwards was obscured. Robert, bishop of Chichester,[1] died, and Gilbert, abbot of Westminster.[2]

A.D. 1118. Pope Paschal, of blessed memory, died on the fourteenth of the kalends of February [19th Jan.], and in his place one John, a native of Gaeta, succeeded, and, changing his name, was called Gelasius. He was brought up from infancy as a monk, in the monastery of Monte Cassino, and when grown up had been constant in the service of the venerable apostolic popes, Desiderius, Urban, and Paschal, discharging the office of chancellor. The German king, who is also emperor of Rome, on hearing that the pope had departed this life, hastened to Rome, and driving Gelasius from the city, appointed as pope the bishop of Braga (who in the preceding year had been excommunicated at Benevento by the late pope), and changed his name from Burdinus to Gregory. Matilda, queen of the English, died on the kalends of May [1st May], at Westminster, and was honourably interred in that monastery. Earl Robert de Mellent died. Many of the Normans set aside the allegiance which they had sworn to king Henry, and went over to his enemies, Louis king of France and his nobles, disregarding the claims of him, their legitimate sovereign. The aforesaid pope Gelasius came by sea to Burgundy, and his arrival was personally known to all France. This is his epistle which he sent into Gaul:—

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[1] Compare Florence, p. 335, and Hardy's Le Neve, i. 543.

[2] Here ends the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester; but Simeon was acquainted with the continuation of that work, a few extracts from which follow.

"Gelasius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brethren, archbishops, bishops, abbots, clergy, nobles, and other faithful throughout Gaul, sends health and the apostolic benediction.

"As you are members of the Roman church, we have made it our care to notify to you, beloved ones, what things have lately been transacted in it; inasmuch as after an election the sovereign emperor secretly, and with thoughtless haste, came to Rome, and compelled us to depart. Afterwards, with threats and menaces, he demanded an agreement, saying he would do what lay in his power as soon as we had given him certainty of peace by oath. To which we thus replied: 'Respecting the variances between the church and the kingdom, we readily agree either to a convention or to a judicial sentence, at a fitting place and time, that is to say, either at Milan or Cremona, on the following feast of St. Luke [18th Oct.], and this with the judgment and counsel of our brethren, who are by God constituted judges in the church, and without whom this cause cannot be handled. And since the sovereign emperor requires security from us, we, by word and writing, promise these things; provided he does not himself oppose any obstacle in the meanwhile; for neither the honour of the church nor custom permits us to give other security.' On the forty-fourth day after an election, he invaded the rights of mother church, and thrust in the bishop of Braga, who had been excommunicated last year by our sovereign predecessor, pope Paschal, at the council of Benevento, who also when he formerly received the pall by my hands, swore fealty to the same our sovereign and his catholic successors, of whom I am the first. In this great iniquity the emperor had, God be thanked, no associate among the Roman clergy; but the Guibertines alone, Romanus de St. Marcello, Centius, who is called the cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, and Euzo, who for a long time committed excesses in Dacia; and these are the persons who have made themselves notorious by this exploit. We therefore command your wisdom, by the precept of these present letters, to take these matters into your common deliberation by the grace of God, and so you apply yourselves, as you know it behoves you to do, to the avenging of mother church under God's favour by your united aid.

"Given at Gaeta, on the seventeenth of the kalends of February[1] [16th Jan. 1119]."

When these had passed throughout all the provinces, the nobles and those of inferior rank were aroused, and came to the assistance of the apostolic pope, and eagerly prepared themselves to take part in the council which he decided should be held at Rheims at Midlent.

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[1] This letter, although it occurs here and in Malmesbury's Hist. of the Kings, § 431, has escaped the researches of Jaffé. See his Regesta Pontiff. Rom. p. 525.

In this year, at the consecration of a certain church at a village called Momerfeld, in England, as those who had come to the dedication were returning home, after great calmness of weather which had previously existed, suddenly a violent storm arose with thunder; some were stopped, being struck by lightning on the road, and unable to move from the spot which they had reached. They were five in number, three men and two women; one of the women was struck by the thunderbolt, and died; the other perished miserably, struck and burnt from the middle to the feet, the men alone barely escaping with life. Their five horses also were killed by the lightning.

A.D. 1119. Pope Gelasius died at Clugni, and was there buried. In his place the other Roman cardinals who had followed him there, substituted Guido, archbishop of Vienne, and named him Calixtus; and while these things were passing, the apostolate of the Roman church was administered by the aforesaid Gregory. Between these two thus raised to the papacy, the world was inflamed by party spirit, and was divided; some favouring one, some the other; and so the church was injured by this great scandal. Goffrid, bishop of Hereford, died on the fourth of the nones of February [2d Feb.], and Herbert, bishop of Norwich, on the eleventh of the kalends of the same [22d Jan.]. On Sunday, the fourth of the kalends of October [28th Sept.], about the third hour of the day, an earthquake occurred in many places throughout England. Pope Calixtus held a general council at Rheims, on the thirteenth of the kalends of November [20th Oct.]. At this council there assembled a numerous concourse of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and nobles, from various provinces, with a great multitude of clerics and laymen. The staffs of persons of pastoral rank numbered four hundred and twenty-four; amongst whom went Turstin, archbishop elect of the church of York, having after some time with difficulty obtained the king's leave, for the settlement of his own private affairs. But the king had already despatched his legate to the apostolic pope, to tell him this amongst other things, that he should not either himself consecrate the archbishop elect of York, or authorize or permit any one else to consecrate him, except the archbishop of Canterbury; as was conformable to custom. To which the apostolic pope replied, "Let not the king suppose that I will act otherwise than reason demands, in the matter of which he treats; nor, moreover, have I any desire to lower the just dignity of the church of Canterbury." But on the morning of the Sunday immediately preceding the day on which the council was summoned, when Turstin was prepared to receive consecration to his archiepiscopal see, the legates of the archbishop of Canterbury presumptuously objected, that the consecration of the archbishop of York ought to be performed by the archbishop of Canterbury; to which the apostolic pope replied, "We wish to do no injustice to the church of Canterbury; but, saving its dignity, we will carry out what we have proposed. He was, therefore, consecrated[1] by the pope. On the following day, while the persons of ecclesiastical rank were sitting in order in council, (Lewis, king of the Franks, also attending, and many other principal men,) by the consent of all, the statutes of the fathers were renewed in such matters as ought to be decreed, and repealed, where repeal was necessary. The five chapters are as follows:—

1. Those things which have been established by the decrees of the holy fathers respecting simoniacal pravity, we also confirm, by the judgment of the Holy Spirit and the authority of the apostolic see. If any one, therefore, shall buy or sell, either by himself or by any agent, a bishopric, abbey, deanery, archdeaconry, presbyterate, provostship, prebend, altars, or any ecclesiastical benefices, preferments, ordinations, consecrations, dedications of churches, clerical tonsure, stalls in the choir, or any ecclesiastical offices whatsoever, both buyer and seller shall be subject to the loss of his dignity, office and benefice. And, unless he repent, smitten with the sword of anathema, he shall be cut off in every way from the church of God which he has injured.

2. We utterly prohibit investiture of bishoprics, abbacies, or any other ecclesiastical possessions from being made by a lay hand. Whosoever, therefore, of the laity shall henceforward presume to confer investiture, he shall incur the vengeance of an anathema. Moreover, he who shall have been invested shall be altogether deprived, without hope of recovery, of the dignity with which he shall have been invested.

3. We decree, that all the possessions of the churches, which have been granted them by the liberality of kings, the bounty of princes, or the offerings of any person, shall remain for ever untouched and inviolate. And if any one shall seize, invade, or withhold them by the right of the stronger hand, he shall be struck by a perpetual anathema, according to the decree of the blessed Symmachus.

4. No bishop, nor priest, nor any one whatever of the clergy, shall bequeath, as by hereditary right, dignities or benefices to any one. Besides this, we command, that no fee at all shall be demanded for baptisms, chrisms, receiving the holy oil and burial, nor for the visitation or anointing of the sick.

5. We altogether forbid priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, from keeping company with concubines and wives. Whoever shall be found living in this manner shall be deprived of their ecclesiastical offices and benefices; and, if they do not reform their uncleanness by this means, they shall be deprived of Christian communion.

These decrees of the council were transmitted to the emperor Henry, as he was at no great distance from the meeting, first through honourable personages, and at length by the apostolic pope himself, in order that the council, before the breaking up of it, might know, whether he would yield to the churches throughout his kingdom, and each separate province subject to him: 1st, Canonical elections; namely, that bishops and abbots should be elected by the church; 2d, Free consecration, that the elect should be consecrated where and by whom it was proper; 3d, Investiture of churches, that they might enter through Christ the door, by investiture of the pastoral staff and ring; and 4th, Investiture of ecclesiastical property, that no lay person should demand anything of the property belonging to the churches. To these demands the emperor replied, that he would not forego anything in these matters which the ancient custom of his predecessors had bestowed on him as of his own right. Yet after a while he yielded to the authority of the general council, and granted the first three, but would not concede the last, namely, the investiture of ecclesiastical property; wherefore, when the pope returned to the council, he was pronounced to be excommunicate. When some of the council were displeased at this, the pope gave his opinion, that those who took offence in this matter should go out and be separated from the fellowship of their brethren; giving as an instance [1] those of the Seventy who, when they were offended about eating the flesh of the Lord and drinking his blood, went back and walked no more with Him. "And since," said he, "he who gathereth not with the Lord scattereth; and he who is not with Him is against Him; by thus differing from us, you are striving to rend that coat without seam, woven from the top throughout; to wit, the holy church, which you will not keep undivided by agreeing with us." By the pope discoursing to them in this manner, all of them were forthwith brought to the same mind as the rest, and they launched the sentence of excommunication against the emperor Henry. The council being at length dissolved, after some days, the king of the English, offended with archbishop Turstin, because he had got himself consecrated by the pope without his consent, forbade his return to any part of his dominions. After this pope Calixtus went to Gisors, where the king of the English met him at a conference; many things were settled between them of sufficient consequence to warrant the meeting of two such important personages. Amongst these the king obtained from the pope, that he would concede to him all the customs which his father had held in Normandy and in England, and, especially, that he would allow no one at any time to discharge the office of legate in England, unless he himself should require this to be done by the pope, under pressure of some special difficulty, which could not be settled by the bishops of his kingdom. All these matters being thus far settled, the pope begged the king to be reconciled to Turstin, and to restore him to the archbishopric, to which he himself, out of his regard for him, had consecrated him. The king declared, that he had vowed on his faith that he would not do so as long as he lived. He replied, "I am the pope; and if you will do what I require, I will absolve you from that vow." "I will consider the matter," said the king, "and will inform you of the result of my deliberation;" and with that he left the pope; and then, by a deputation, he made him this answer: "Making that concession to you which you so earnestly desire, I admit Turstin to his prelacy, on this condition, that he makes the submission which his predecessors made to the church of Canterbury; otherwise, during my reign he shall never preside over the church of York." Matters being brought to this conclusion, the pope departed, and Turstin remained in France. William, son of king Henry and queen Matilda, took to wife the daughter of the count of Anjou.

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[1] 19th Oct. A.D. 1119. See Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 98.

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[1] See St. John vi. 66.

A.D. 1120. Henry, king of the English, and Lewis, king of the French, after many losses on both sides, held a conference on an appointed day, which ended in a treaty of peace; and by order of king Henry, when his son William had done homage to the king of the French, he received the principality of Normandy, to hold under him. Thus the kings returning in peace, the whole rebellion of mutinous Normandy was repressed, and those who had taken up arms against their sovereign, king Henry, came once more under his dominion in submissive manner. In arranging the agreement between the kings, archbishop Turstin had showed himself wary and active; and so, by this ability of his, he disposed the king's mind to receive him more readily. Further, the pope, by an epistle addressed to the king, (who was now preparing to return to England,) recommended him to receive archbishop Turstin, to lay aside every pretext, and to restore him to his church. But the king delayed sending any definite answer to this recommendation, until his return to England, where, calling a council, he might maturely consider what was requisite to be done. The nobles of Normandy, at the king's command, did homage to his son William, then eighteen years of age, and by oaths gave security for their fidelity. The king, then, having either subdued or made terms with all who had rebelled against him; having prosperously completed everything according to his wish, in unusual gladness returned to England with a large fleet, the fifth year of his departure having not yet come to a close. He had furnished to his son and the whole of his suite a vessel, than which none in all the fleet seemed better; but, as it proved, none was more unlucky. The father sailed first; the son followed somewhat later, but with ill speed; for when not far from the land, by the very force of its sailing, the ship was driven upon the rocks as it left the harbour, and was shattered; and the king's son with all who were with him perished; this occurred on Thursday,[1] the sixth of the kalends of December [26th Nov.], in the evening, at Barbaflot. In the morning the king's treasure, which was in the ship, was found on the sands; but none of the bodies of the sufferers were recovered. With the king's son perished his brother, earl Richard the Bastard,[2] with the king's daughter,[3] who was the wife of Rotro; and Richard,[4] earl of Chester, with his wife, the king's niece, sister of earl Theobald, the king's nephew. There perished, also, Othoel,[5] tutor to the king's son; and Geoffrey Ridel,[6] and Robert Malduit, and

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[1] The accident having occurred during the night, is sometimes ascribed to the twenty-fifth of November, sometimes to the twenty-sixth. Thursday, however, was the twenty-fifth of the month. See Will. Malmesb. Hist. of the Kings, § 419.

[2] See Anderson's Genealog. Tables, p. 741.

[3] Maud, wife of Rotroc, earl of Perch. Anderson, ibid.

[4] Richard, earl of Chester, married Maud, daughter of Stephen, earl of Blois, by Adela, one of the daughters of William the Conqueror. See Dugd. Baron. i. 36.

[5] This Othoel was natural brother to the last-named Richard, earl of Chester. Dugd. Baron. ibid.

[6] Id. i. 555.

William Bigot,[1] with many other chief men; also, many noble women, with not a few of the children of the royal family; one hundred and fifty soldiers and fifty sailors, with three captains of the ship. A certain butcher, clinging to a plank, was the only one who escaped the shipwreck. The king reached England with a prosperous voyage, and imagined that his son had put into some other port; but on the third day he was afflicted with the news of his sad end. At first, hearing of this sudden calamity, he fainted like a man bereft of strength; but soon hiding his grief, he resumed his royal courage, as in scorn of fate. For he had appointed this William (the only one of his sons begotten in lawful wedlock) to be the heir to the kingdom after himself.

A.D. 1121. A council of all England being assembled at Windsor, before the Purification of St. Mary [2d Feb.], king Henry took in marriage Adelina, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lovaine. Richard, the king's chaplain, was elected to the bishopric of Hereford; and Robert Peccator, his other chaplain, to that of the church of Coventry. Herbert, almoner of St. Peter at Westminster, was elected abbot of the same place; Edmer, monk of the church of Canterbury, (who had been elected the preceding year to the bishopric of the church of St. Andrew, of the nation of the Scots,) abandoned his intention of ruling the bishopric, and returned to his place. William de Campellis,[2] bishop of Châlons, died, on the fifteenth of the kalends of February [18th Jan.], having taken the habit of a monk eight days before his death. In the same year, king Henry cut a large canal from Torksey to Lincoln, and by causing the river Trent to flow into it, he made it navigable for vessels. Ralph, bishop of Durham, began a wall from the northern part of the choir of the church, and carried it on to the keep of the castle:—he then began also the castle of Norham, on the banks of the Tweed, at the place called Ethamesford.

The monks at Durham brought an action in the chapter of St. Peter's at York, (in the presence of bishops Turstin aforesaid, Ralph of Durham, and Homo de St. Evroul, and many others,) respecting the church at Tynemouth,[3] alleging that it was theirs by right of a grant from earl Waltheof, when he committed to their care his cousin (the son, namely, of his aunt), the boy Morkar, then a little child, to be educated by them for God in the monastery of Jarrow. When he had been thus entrusted to them in that church of Tynemouth, the monks took him by ship to Jarrow, and had bestowed great pains in bringing him up and educating him for the service of God. "From that time," said they, "our brethren, the monks of Jarrow, have taken charge of that place; their monks, Edmund, and afterwards Eadred, served that church along with the priest Elwald, who was also a canon of the church of Durham, and regularly went from thence to Durham, as often as his turn of duty occurred, to celebrate mass for the week. We remember also Wulmar, a monk of our convent, and other brethren in their turns, being sent thither from Jarrow, to perform the divine services there. The bones of St. Oswin, also, were translated by our brethren to Jarrow, as seemed good to them at the time; and they carried them back when they thought fit, from thence to their former place of deposit. Lastly, when Albrius received the dignity of the earldom, he also bestowed the same place upon us, when we were translated to Durham; from which place our monk, Turchil, was sent thither by the common resolution of the whole chapter; and he restored the roof of that church and dwelt there for a long time, until afterwards he was violently driven out by earl Robert de Mowbray, through his ministers, Gumer[1] and Robert Taca, on account of the hatred which he had against bishop William. Not long after this, Paul, abbot of the monastery of St. Albans, obtained the aforesaid church from the earl; but when he came to York to visit it, Turgot (who then held the priory of Durham) sent thither monks and clerks; and, in the presence of archbishop Thomas the elder, and many other very reverend persons, he forbade him by his canonical authority to usurp a place under the jurisdiction of the church of Durham, and thus become a violator of the sacred canons and of brotherly charity. But he, replying with disdain, set at nought that prohibition; and having gone thither, was seized with illness on his return, and ended his life at Setterington, not far from York. Thus we lost the church of Tynemouth."

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[1] Dugd. Baron. i. 132.

[2] See Gallia Christ. ix. 877.

[3] See Simeon's Hist. of the Church of Durham, chap. lxiii.

This cause, being commenced at York about the middle of Lent,[2] was heard again at Durham, on the Wednesday in Easter week, being the ides of April [13th April], before a large assembly of the principal men who happened to have met there at that time about some business; namely, Robert de Brys, Alan de Percy, Walter Espec, Forno the son of Sig:, Robert de Whitwell, Odard, sheriff of the Northumbrians, with the nobility of this county, and many others. When the monks laid their case before this assembly, lo! Arnold de Percy, a man of well-known rank and wealth, and of unshaken adherence to truth, rose up, and stated before all, in evidence of the truth, that he had both heard and witnessed how the earl had repented on account of this injustice which he had violently inflicted on St. Cuthbert. "When," said he, "the earl was taken prisoner at the place which he had seized from St. Cuthbert, and was brought to Durham in a litter, on account of the wounds which he had received, he begged that he might be allowed to enter the church to pray; this not being permitted by the barons, he burst into tears, and, looking towards the church, he exclaimed, 'O holy Cuthbert, I justly suffer these calamities, because I have sinned against thee and thine; this is thy vengeance for my iniquity. I pray thee, O saint of God, have mercy on me.'" On hearing this, all pronounced that injustice had been done to the church of Durham; and although the matter could not at that present time be set right, yet, careful for their future interests, they providently recorded that this action had been tried before such a numerous assembly.

An epistle of pope Calixtus, concerning Turstin, addressed to king Henry, and Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, interdicted him from exercising either the episcopal or the sacerdotal office, as well in the mother church of Canterbury as in that of York, and prohibited the celebration of all divine offices, with the burial of the dead, except the baptism of infants and absolution of the dying, unless within a month after the receipt of that epistle, Turstin should be restored to his church, without the exaction of the profession. Wherefore, he was recalled by the king to England, and was presently restored to his archbishopric.

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[1] Gunner (?)

[2] Mid-lent Sunday fell upon 20th March.

This year, after the feast of Easter, pope Calixtus, marching from the city [of Rome] with a large force, laid siege to the city of Sutri, until he took both Burdin and the place; as the subjoined epistle[1] informs us:—

"Calixtus, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brethren and sons, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other faithful of St. Peter, both cleric and lay, resident throughout France, sends health and the apostolic benediction.

"Since the people has forsaken the law of the Lord, and does not walk in his judgments, the Lord has visited their iniquity with a rod, and their sins with stripes. But, still preserving the bowels of his fatherly affection, He doth not abandon those who put their trust in his mercy. For a long time, indeed, as their sins demanded, the faithful of the church have been disquieted by that puppet of the king of the Germans, to wit, Burdin; and some have been taken prisoners, and some have been harassed even to death by the torments of imprisonment. But lately, after the celebration of the Easter festival, when we could no longer endure the crying of the stranger and the poor, we set out from the city, with the faithful of the church, and besieged the city of Sutri, until at length God's power delivered both the aforesaid enemy of the church, Burdin, who had there made a nest for the devil, and the place itself into our hands. We therefore entreat you, of your love, that you will render thanks with us to the King of kings for so great benefits, and will steadfastly continue in the catholic obedience and service, that you may receive due reward, now and hereafter, from Almighty God, by his grace. We beg also that you will cause these our letters to be forwarded from one to another, without any neglect. Given at Sutri, on the sixth of the kalends of May [26th April]."

The widow of William, king Henry's late son, who was drowned, (the daughter of Foulke, count of Anjou,) at the request of her father, was sent back to her own country by the king. The sons of the king of the Welsh, having heard that Richard, earl of Chester, was drowned, burnt two castles and slew many persons, and grievously pillaged many places in that county. The king was enraged at this, and, having levied an innumerable army from the whole of England, he marched to ravage Wales; but when he had proceeded as far as Snowdon, the king of the Welsh made peace with the king of the English, by pacifying him with the gifts and hostages which he demanded; and the army was presently sent home.

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[1] See Malmesbury's History of the Kings, § 433; and Jaffé, p. 537.

A.D. 1122. On Christmas-eve [24th Dec.], an unusually strong wind threw down not only houses, but even towers of stone. Archbishop Turstin demanded profession and submission from John, bishop of Glasgow; and as he would not yield this, he suspended him from his episcopal office. The bishop presently went to Rome; whereon, perceiving that his cause did not succeed, he went on to Jerusalem, and stayed there for some months, under the courteous hospitality of the patriarch, and often officiated in his stead in his episcopal duty.

Pontius, abbot of Clugni, who had taken the government of the monastery by divine call, (a man, as is reported, of unblemished life,) being accused before the pope, Calixtus, by the convent under his charge, very readily allowed himself to be deposed from his government; but another abbot being ordained in his place, he then voluntarily purged himself by oath, thereby convincing his accusers, before the sacred body of St. Peter, of having brought false charges against him. The pope was much distressed that so good and so innocent a man had been rashly deposed, and speedily ordered that he should resume his authority, and return to the government of the monastery, as heretofore. But he replied, that he would rather die than resume the charge of the monastery of Clugni. Attended by the pope's regrets, he went to Jerusalem, where he was respectfully received by all with much joy; and there making himself a residence over the gate called The golden gate, he delighted to spend a retired life in divine meditation. Afterwards, he who had been substituted in his place as abbot died, not long after he came to Clugni. Pontius was then ordered, by messengers and letters sent by the pope, to return to the government of his monastery; but he could by no means be withdrawn from his solitary mode of life. Sibilla, queen of Scots, daughter of king Henry, died suddenly, on the fourth of the ides of July [12th July].

Pope Calixtus and the emperor Henry were reconciled by the mediation of sensible and faithful men, (after long dissensions, which inflicted great injury to their affairs,) as letters sent through the kingdoms and provinces testify, copies of which are here given:—

"I, Calixtus, bishop, servant of the servants of God, grant to you, my beloved son Henry, by the grace of God, the august emperor of the Romans, that the elections of such of the bishops and abbots of the kingdom of Germany as belong to that kingdom may be made in your presence, if they be done without simony or any violence; and that if any discussion shall arise between the parties, you, by the judgment and advice of the metropolitan and principals, may afford your consent and aid to the sounder party. The elect shall receive the regalia from you, and shall perform what by right is due to you on account of them. And one consecrated in other parts of the empire shall, within six months, receive the regalia from you by the sceptre, and shall perform what by right is due to you on account thereof, saving all things which are known to belong to the church of Rome. In those matters wherein you have made complaint to me, and begged my aid, I will afford you assistance, according to the duty of my office. I give you true peace, and to all who are, or have been, on your side during the period of this dissension."

"In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, I, Henry, by the grace of God emperor augustus of the Romans, for the love of God, and of the holy Roman church, and of the sovereign pope Calixtus, and for the good of my soul, give up to God, and to God's holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to the holy catholic church, all investiture by ring and staff, and grant that canonical election and free consecration shall be allowed to all the churches which are in my kingdom or empire. Such of the possessions and royalties of blessed Peter, which, from the beginning of this dissension until yesterday, have been taken away, either in my father's time or mine, if they are in my hands, I restore them to the same holy Roman church. Those which I do not hold, I will faithfully endeavour to cause to be restored. The possessions, also, of all other churches and princes, and of others, both clerical and lay, which have been lost in this strife, by the counsel or judgment of the princes, such as I have, I will restore; what I have not, I will faithfully endeavour to cause to be restored. And I give true peace to the sovereign pope Calixtus, and to the holy Roman church, and to all who are, or have been, on its side; and in those things in which the holy Roman church shall demand aid, I will faithfully assist; and in those matters in which it has made complaint to me, I will do it due justice."

All these things were arranged by the consent and advice of the princes whose names are subscribed: Albert, archbishop of Mentz; Frederic, archbishop of Cologne; Bruno, archbishop of Treves; Ardwin, bishop of Ratisbone; Otto, bishop of Bamberg; Bruno, bishop of Spires; and many other persons, ecclesiastical and secular.

This agreement being everywhere published throughout the nations and people; letters were also sent by the pope to all archbishops and bishops throughout the regions and provinces, to the effect that, setting aside every other plea, they should meet without delay at the council which the sovereign pope was about to hold at Rome, on the fifteenth of the kalends of April [18th March].

In this year king Henry entering the districts of Northumberland crossed over from York, towards the western sea, after the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.], that he might examine the ancient city, which in the language of the Britons is called Cairliel; now, in English, Carleol [Carlisle]; and in Latin is named Lugubalia. He gave a sum of money, and ordered the place to be fortified with a castle and towers. From thence he went back to York, and after important meetings of the citizens and men of the province, he returned to the country south of the Humber. Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, died on the thirteenth of the kalends of October [19th Sept.].

A.D. 1123. Stephen, earl of Bologne, afterwards king of England, gave to Gaufrid, abbot of Savigni, the vill of Tulket, in the province called Agmundernes, on the bank of the river Ribble, to build an abbey[1] of his order, in the time of pope Calixtus, and there they continued for nearly three years. Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, was captured at Antioch by the pagans, by stratagem, and was kept in confinement nearly three years. Fulke, earl of Anjou, demanded from Henry, king of the English, the lands, towns and castles which had been given as a dowry to the daughter of that earl, when the king's son, who was now drowned, had taken her to wife. Since the king was not willing to assent to this, he gave his other daughter in marriage to William, son of Robert, earl of Normandy, the king's brother, promising his aid to the young man, that he might be inheritor of some part of his father's dignity. Lest anything adverse to him should result from this, the king held counsel with his friends at Woodstock, (The place of woods,) and sent his illegitimate son Robert, and Ralph, earl of Chester, into Normandy to guard that territory.

John, bishop of Bath, was suddenly attacked after dinner on Christmas-day by disease of the heart, and died on the following day. Not long after, that is, the third day after Epiphany [9th Jan.], Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, while the king was riding in company with him, in sound health, and apart from the others, (for they were engaged in conference about state affairs,) suddenly fell from his horse like a dying man; the king caught him in his fall; every one ran to the spot, and the bishop, unable to speak a word, was carried to the guest-chamber, and died the next day.

After this, when the king held his court at Gloucester, on the Purification of St. Mary [2d Feb.], the appointment of an archbishop of Canterbury was taken into consideration by the king's command; but, since several persons proposed different men for this dignity, the dissension caused a delay in the election; for there was present the prior of the church of Canterbury, with some persons of dignity, who declared that the choice of the church had fallen upon some persons of the monastic order, and demanded that whosoever of these was agreeable to the king and his council should be appointed over the church. But the bishops of all England, who were all of the clerical order, crying out, that they would not have a monk as primate, when they had clerics equally good and fit for the government of the church, the delegates of the men of Canterbury replied, "From the time of St. Augustine (who certainly was a monk), the first prelate of this church, until now, monks have always been chosen to govern it as its archbishops up to the present time. Henceforward, also, by God's favour, the ancient custom shall be preserved." But the king sided with the bishops, and decreed that monks should not be elected; whereupon four clerics were proposed to the meeting, with the understanding that upon whomsoever of these the choice of the men of Canterbury should fall, he should be raised to the archiepiscopate, by the king's order. Therefore, since they were not allowed to observe the ancient custom of election, they were compelled by necessity to give their adherence to one of the four clerics, namely, William de Corbel, whom they knew to be a man of sober life and well skilled in learning, inasmuch as he had frequent and familiar intercourse with archbishop Anselm of pious memory. He had been first a clerk of bishop Ralph at the church of Durham, afterwards, for the sake of bettering his life, he became a regular canon of Chich, and now he was promoted to the archbishopric. Being elected, therefore, by the monks, Turstin, archbishop of York, offered to ordain him according to custom. "If," said he, "you choose to ordain me as primate of all England, I will willingly receive imposition of your hands; but if not, I will not inconsiderately be ordained contrary to ancient custom." Not long after, that is, on the fifth of the kalends of March [25th Feb.], by the king's order he was consecrated at Canterbury by his suffragans. Immediately afterwards, both he and Turstin set out for Rome, each to plead his own cause. And the king sent Bernard, bishop of St. David's; and Anselm, abbot of St. Eadmund's monastery, (nephew to archbishop Anselm;) and Polochinus, abbot of Glastonbury, (brother to archbishop Ralph,) along with archbishop William, —both as his embassy to the pope, and in order that, if anything should arise adverse to the archbishop, they might take his part. Meanwhile John, bishop of Glasgow, was recalled by the pope from Jerusalem to Rome, and ordered to return to his bishopric. Godofrid, the queen's chaplain, (who had come with her from Germany to England,) was elected by king Henry bishop of the church of Bath, and Alexander, (nephew of Roger, bishop of Salisbury,) to the church of Lincoln.

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[1] The Cistercian monastery of Furness, in Lancashire concerning which, see Dugd. Monast. i. 704. Stephen's charter is printed p 706.

A council of three hundred bishops was held at Rome, on the fifteenth of the kalends of April [18th March], pope Calixtus the second presiding. There the decrees of the fathers were confirmed respecting positive and negative duties; the heads of which, those who wish to know will find here annexed:—

1. Acting upon the obligations entailed upon us by our office, and following the example of the holy fathers, we altogether forbid, by the authority of the apostolic see, any one to be ordained or promoted for money in the church of God. If any one shall obtain ordination or promotion in the church, in this way, he shall be deprived of the dignity so acquired.

2. We utterly prohibit those who are excommunicated by their bishops, from being received into communion by other bishops, abbots, or clergy.

3. No one, unless canonically elected, shall be consecrated bishop; and if such a thing shall be attempted, both the consecrator and the consecrated shall be deposed, without hope of restoration.

4. No archdeacon, or archpriest whatever, whether provost or dean, shall give to any one cure of souls, or prebends in a church, without the decision or consent of the bishop; or rather, as is decreed by the sacred canons, the cure of souls and the manage-

ment of ecclesiastical affairs shall continue under the judgment and authority of the bishop. If any one shall act contrary to this, or shall presume to claim for himself the power which belongs to the bishop, let him be debarred from the threshold of the church.

5. We judge the ordinations made by Burdin the heresiarch, after he was condemned by the Roman church, to be null; as also those made by the pseudo-bishops, after having been ordained by him. No one but a priest shall be ordained to the office of a provost, or an archpriest, or a dean; nor any one but a deacon to be an archdeacon.

6. We altogether prohibit priests, deacons, and sub-deacons from having connexion with concubines and wives, and dwelling with other females, except those whom the Nicene council allows, on account of necessity alone; namely, a mother, sister, aunt, or such like; respecting whom no suspicion can justly arise.

7. Furthermore, we decree, according to the statute of the most blessed pope Stephen, that laics, although of a religious order, shall have no power of ordering anything in ecclesiastical matters; but, according to the canons of the apostles, the bishop shall have the charge of all ecclesiastical affairs, and shall administer them as in the sight of God. If any one, therefore, whether prince or other layman, shall claim to himself the disposal or donation of ecclesiastical property or possessions, let him be judged sacrilegious.

8. We prohibit the marriage of kindred, since both the divine and secular law prohibits them; for the divine laws not only cast out, but pronounce accursed the contractors of such marriages, and the offspring of them. We, therefore, following our fathers, mark them with infamy, and pronounce them abominable.

9. To those who journey to Jerusalem, and strenuously afford their aid to defend the Christian people, and destroy the tyranny of the infidels, we grant remission of their sins; and we take their houses, their families, and all their possessions, into the protection of St. Peter and the Roman church, as was decreed by our sovereign pope Urban. Whosoever, therefore, shall venture to delay or hinder them, while engaged in that journey, shall be punished by the vengeance of anathema. Those who have placed the cross upon their garments, either for the expedition to Jerusalem or to Spain, and have afterwards drawn back, we charge by apostolic authority to resume that cross, and perform their journey, between this present Easter and the Easter ensuing; otherwise, from that time, we debar them from admission to the church, and interdict them all divine offices, in all lands, except the baptism of infants, and the shriving of the dying.

10. Whosoever shall knowingly coin or designedly utter false money, shall be separated from the fellowship of the faithful, as one accursed, and as an oppressor of poor men, and a disturber of the state.

11. If any one shall attempt to seize pilgrims journeying to Rome, or those frequenting the thresholds of the apostles, or the oratories of other saints, or shall plunder them of the property they carry, or shall harass the merchants by new exactions of taxes and

payments, let him be deprived of Christian communion, until he has made satisfaction.

By these synodal decrees, so subscribed and confirmed, the sentence of the general council absolved the emperor Henry, by its legates and writings, from the chain of excommunication by which he had been bound at the council of Rheims; and he, according to the tenor of the writings given before, promised that he would preserve the rights of the holy Roman church.

The council being over, the two aforesaid English archbishops went to Rome; but the archbishop of York arrived before the archbishop of Canterbury. He, on his arrival a few days after, had difficulty in obtaining a hearing for his petition for the pall, being obstructed by what had there been alleged against him: namely, that he had been elected in the court called "the court of blood," because sentences of death were there decreed; that he had not been promoted by general consent of the church of Canterbury to the government of that church; that he would not allow himself to be consecrated by Turstin, archbishop of York; that he was the first of the clerical order who had consented to be preferred over the monks of that church (for the successors of Augustine, who was himself a monk, were all of them monks down to this William): but these objections were at length set aside, by the favour of the aforesaid emperor, and Henry, king of the English, who, by their ambassadors, were vigorous mediators in his behalf; and, having formally received the pall, he complained, in the audience of the whole senate of the Roman church, that the church of Canterbury had been lowered from its dignity, through the undermining of the archbishop of York; it having, from the first bishop, Augustine, down to Ralph, who preceded him, enjoyed the primacy of all England, which now he urgently begged for that church, to which both ancient custom and the authority of privileges, preserved for so many years, had yielded it. To this Turstin discreetly replied, that, since he (having been summoned to Rome) had not been able to be present at the council, he could not fitly reply at that time to a matter of which he had not been forewarned, especially since he had not there with him the charters of the church of York, without which the nature of the dispute would not allow him on that occasion to enter into the matter. Therefore, having finished their business, both of the archbishops returned home; and, by order of the sovereign pope, legates of the Roman church followed them to England; in whose presence, at a council assembled from all England, the aforesaid archbishops brought forward the charters of their respective churches; and then, justice deciding between the two parties, their rights were re-established. William consecrated, at Canterbury, Alexander, bishop elect of Lincoln, and Godefrid, elect of Bath.

King Henry on Easter Monday [15th April] crossed into Normandy, in order that, should any opposition arise through William, his brother's son, (as he was told would be the case,) he might repress it by his royal authority. Four months having not quite elapsed, Galeran, earl of Meulan, and all his allies, deserted the king, and garrisoned their castles, and held them against him. The king levied an army; and having burnt the earl's town, called Brionne, leaving a single tower which he could not take, he committed to the flames his other town, (namely, the bridge of Audomar, commonly called Pontaudomar,) and ravaged and burnt all within a circuit of twenty miles and more, that the enemy might not be able to do any mischief. One hundred and forty soldiers held the castle of that besieged town for seven weeks against the king's army. The king, perceiving that he was not succeeding as he expected, erected a wooden tower, which they call Berfreit. This being brought to the castle by mechanical skill, the besiegers showered down from it, from above, arrows and great masses of stone. This fabric from which the archers and slingers fought, towered twenty-four feet in height above the wall of the fortress. The besieged, no longer able to withstand the force of these fighting from above, made a surrender, and marched out, the king permitting each man to go where he chose. The soldiers whom the king had brought from Lower Brittany, having burnt the aforesaid town, dug up the earth, and found chests containing many things which the citizens (foreseeing the danger) had hidden underground; such as gold, silver, valuable garments, palls, spices, ginger, and other goods of that kind; loaded with which, they took their departure. When the inhabitants of the place, having now made peace with the king, had begun to rebuild the ruins of the town, the aforesaid earl, suddenly setting fire to what had been done, reduced it to ashes. Besides these individuals mentioned above, others also, some of them nobles, revolted from the king, and strengthened their castles against him with a stronger power and number of fighting men. The king, attacking some, took six of them; but some he left as impregnable. He sustained several attacks from William, his brother's son, who was supported rather by the forces of his father-in-law, Fulko, earl of Anjou, than by his own. The king was more in doubt of the treachery of his subjects, than in dread of the inroads of foreigners. On account of these struggles, and the scarcity of means, England was worn down by exactions of money, which were imposed upon all the people to carry on the king's affairs. Teodulf, bishop of Worcester, and Ralph, bishop of Chichester, died. A council was held at Bordeaux, on the fifth of the ides of December [9th Dec.].

A.D. 1124. Alexander, king of Scots, died on the sixth of the kalends of May [26th April], after having reigned eighteen years and three months; his brother David succeeded him; and the kingdom, which his brother had held with great trouble, he received without opposition, and it afterwards continued entirely obedient to him, and in quiet. In this year Alexander, four months before his death, caused Robert Prior, of the regular canons at Scone, to be elected to the bishopric of St. Andrew's in Scotland; but his consecration was delayed for some time, on account of the submission which Turstin, archbishop of York, demanded as due from him according to custom. The Scots asserted, with absurd prating, that there was neither authority nor custom for this demand.

The aforesaid earl of Meulan, while incautiously making the circuit of the castles which he had garrisoned against the king, was captured by an ambuscade, with many of his followers, and was put in close confinement. Pope Calixtus [II.] died on the ides of December [13th Dec.], and in his room the bishop of Ostia was raised to the popedom, who, according to the custom of his predecessors, changed his name from Lambert to Honorius [II.] A great famine prevailed throughout England, so that everywhere in the cities, villages, and road-sides, dead bodies lay unburied and falling to corruption, a wretched and horrid spectacle.

A.D. 1125. The emperor Henry [V.] died, leaving no sons, after having ruled for twenty years. Wherefore three candidates were proposed by the chiefs of the kingdom, that one of them should be elected to the government; Leopold, brother-in-law of the deceased emperor, and his nephew Frederick, and Lothaire, duke of the Saxons. Leopold refused the government, urging his age and the number of his sons, lest if he were raised to the throne some division of the kingdom might arise through them. Frederick, who put himself forward as the rightful heir of the kingdom, was rejected the more on that account, since his uncle had been held in detestation by all. Lothaire then was peaceably elected by all; and though he strove to resist by argument and even by tears, he was anointed king at Aix-la-Chapelle, and after having put to flight Frederick, who waged war against him with great violence, and taken some of his fortresses, he ruled the kingdom and empire with great moderation and justice. The empress, on the death of her husband, having lost certain fortresses which she had received as a dowry, returned to her father in Normandy.

John of Crema having received from the pope a legation to Britain, after having been a long time kept in Normandy by the king, at length received permission to cross into England; and was reverentially welcomed by the churches, since he had received from the pope commendatory letters to them to this effect, of which copies are here subjoined.

"Honorius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son John, priest, cardinal, legate of the apostolic see, wisheth health and the apostolic benediction. As it is the duty of good sons to obey their fathers with the lowly humility of devotion, so it is the part of fathers kindly to provide for their sons with the feelings of affection. We commit therefore to your thoughtful love the care and charge entrusted to you by our predecessor, pope Calixtus, of blessed memory, in the kingdom of England. And we pray in the Lord that, as a wise and prudent son of the Roman church, you may earnestly labour in those things which pertain to the honour of God and the dignity of the apostolic see. Given at the Lateran, on the ides of April [13th April]."

"Honorius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his brethren and sons, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, nobles and others, clergy and laity, residing in England, wisheth health and the apostolic benediction. Although you are situated on the extremity of the earth, yet the catholicity of the Christian faith causes you to belong to the church of Peter the Apostle. For since it was said to Peter, 'Feed my sheep; feed my lambs,' truly not one of the sheep, not one of the lambs belonging to the fellowship of Christ, is excluded as not committed to the pastorate of Peter. Besides this, the authority of our most holy father pope Gregory, and the mission of the blessed Augustin, show that the kingdom of England belongs in a special manner to blessed Peter and the Roman church. We are incited by the duty resulting from this cause to watch over you, although situated so far off, with a more anxious care. Wherefore summoning our dearly beloved son John, cardinal, priest of the holy Roman church, to share this our anxiety, we have committed to him the office of our vicar in your territories; that by the aid of your love and the assisting patronage of the holy apostles, he may truly treat of matters concerning the correction of what is amiss, or the enforcing of what is correct within the churches, the spread of religion, and other things which shall seem worthy of praise or censure. We beg therefore, and admonish and charge you, that you reverently receive him as the vicar of St. Peter, hearken to him with humility, and at his summons duly hold with him synodal assemblies, so that by his and your diligence whatever in your kingdom needs to be reformed may be reformed, and whatever should be confirmed may be confirmed, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Given at the Lateran, on the second of the ides of April [12th April]."

The same John received also the office of legate over the kingdom of Scotland; the pope on that account sending this letter to the king of that nation:—

"Honorius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son David, the illustrious king of the Scots, wisheth health and the apostolic benediction. It behoves the devout and humble sons of the blessed Peter to take heedful care in things which they know concern the honour of the holy Roman church. Wherefore we by our entreaty charge your eminence to receive and honour our beloved son John, cardinal, to whom we have entrusted the office of our vicar in these territories; and that you will cause the bishops of your land to assemble in council when summoned by him. The controversy which has been carried on between Turstin, archbishop of York, and the bishops of your land, we commit to the same our legate, to be carefully investigated and discussed, but we reserve the final sentence for the decision of the apostolic see. Given at the Lateran, on the ides of April [13th April]."

With this authority the aforesaid John, making the circuit of England, came to the king of Scots at the place called Roxburgh, on the river Tweed, which separates Northumbria from Lothian. Having there completed the business of his legation, he held a council at London on his return, the particulars of which are stated under the heads subjoined.

A.D. 1126. In the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and twenty-six, in the first year of the pontificate of the sovereign pope Honorius the second, in the reign of the most pious and glorious Henry, king of the English, and in the twenty-fifth year of that his reign, a synod was held at London, in the church of blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, at Westminster, in the month of September, on the ninth day of the month, where (after the discussion of many questions) these chapters, seventeen in number, were published and confirmed by all. Over that council presided John de Crema, (a presbyter cardinal of the holy Roman and apostolic church, by the title of St. Chrysogon,) legate in England of the aforesaid sovereign pope Honorius, with Turstin, archbishop of York, and William of Canterbury, and with bishops of different provinces twenty in number, and abbots about forty, and with a countless multitude of clergy and people.

1. Treading in the footsteps of the holy fathers, we by apostolic authority forbid any one to be ordained in the church for money.

2. We forbid also any fee whatever to be demanded for chrism, for oil, for baptism, for penance, for visitation or unction of the sick, for communion of the body of Christ, or for burial.

3. We enact, and by apostolic authority decree, that in the consecrations of bishops and abbots, in benedictions and dedications of churches, no cope, nor carpet, nor towels, nor vessels, nor anything whatever shall be exacted by compulsion, but it shall be freely offered.

4. No abbot, no prior, no monk, or cleric whatever, shall receive a church, a title, or any ecclesiastical benefice whatever, by the gift, or from the hand of a layman, without the authority and consent of his own bishop; and if this shall be attempted, the donation shall be void, and he shall be subject to canonical punishment.

5. We decree further, that no one shall claim any church, or prebend, by paternal inheritance, or shall appoint a successor to himself in any ecclesiastical benefice. If this shall be attempted, we allow it to have no force, saying with the psalmist, " My God, make them like unto a wheel, who say, Let us possess the sanctuary of God for our inheritance."[1]

6. Furthermore, we enact, that clerks who have churches or benefices of churches, and refuse to be ordained when invited by the bishop, in order that they may live more freely, if they shall disdain to be advanced to orders, shall be deprived at once of their churches and benefices.

7. None but a priest shall be promoted to be a dean or prior; none but a deacon to be an archdeacon.

8. No one shall be ordained to the priesthood, nor to the diaconate, unless to a certain title; and he who shall have been ordained without a title shall be deprived of the rank which he has assumed.

9. No abbot, nor any one at all, cleric or lay, shall presume to eject any one ordained by a bishop to a church without the decision of his own bishop. He who shall dare to do this shall lie under excommunication.

10. None of the bishops shall presume to ordain or to judge the parishioners of another diocese; for to his own master each one

[1] See Psalm lxxxiii. 13.

stands or falls, and no one shall be bound by a sentence pronounced by one who is not his judge.

11. No one shall presume to receive into communion a person who has been excommunicated by another; he who shall knowingly do so, shall himself be deprived of Christian communion.

12. We order, also, that archdeaconries or plurality of honours be not given to one person in the church.

13. We prohibit by apostolic authority priests, deacons, subdeacons, and canons from haunting the company of wives, concubines, or any females whatever, except a mother, a sister, or aunt, or those women to whom no suspicion can attach. He who shall be acknowledged to be a convicted transgressor of this decree, shall suffer the loss of his rank.

14. We prohibit usury and filthy lucre to clerics of all classes. Whoever shall be known or convicted of such a crime shall be degraded from his rank.

15. Sorcerers, soothsayers, and practisers of any divinations, and those who consult them, we order to be excommunicated and condemned to perpetual infamy.

16. We forbid the contract of marriage between relations, or near of kin, to the seventh degree; if any such shall have been united let them be put asunder.

17. We prohibit the receiving of the testimony of such men as accuse their own wives of being too near of kin, or those whom they produce as witnesses; but in all things let the ancient authority of the fathers be preserved.

These things being thus settled by the synod, Turstin, archbishop of York, and William of Canterbury, were summoned by this John, and they accompanied him on his return to Rome, to plead their causes in the audience of the pope.

The principal coiners of all England being detected in having made alloyed pieces—that is, not wholly of silver—were, by order of the king, summoned to attend at Winchester, on a specified day; and their right hands being cut off, they were emasculated.

A.D. 1127. King Henry, with his daughter the empress, returned to England the third of the ides of September [11th Sept.]. Archbishop Turstin of York, and William of Canterbury, returned from Rome. William returned in the character of the pope's legate for England; but Turstin exactly as he had set out.

A.D. 1128. The abbey of Selkirk was transferred to Kelso near Roxburgh, and the church of St. Mary was founded by the aforesaid monks of the Tyronensian order, and then the pious king David enriched it with great gifts, decorated it with many embellishments, and endowed it with ample estates and possessions. Henry, king of the English, held his court at Windsor at Christmas. Thence he removed to London, where, on the Circumcision of our Lord [1st Jan.], by his order the archbishops, bishops, abbots, David king of Scots, and the earls and barons of all England, swore that they would keep their fealty, and would secure to his daughter, the empress, the kingdom of England by hereditary right after himself, unless at his death he should leave behind him as his heir, a son born in lawful wedlock. They swore, also, to the queen, that whatever the king bestowed on her they would preserve constant and unchanged.

Charles, earl of Flanders, whilst kneeling in prayer, hearing mass in Lent, was surrounded by traitors and slain, before he could recognise his murderers. King Henry's nephew, William, his brother Robert's son, succeeded him in the dignity of his earldom: having been favoured by the utmost aid of Louis, king of the French. Before this, Fulko, earl of Anjou, had espoused his daughter to the youth aforesaid, but a divorce having been pronounced between them, on account of the consanguinity which king Henry had caused to be sworn to exist between them, the king of the French took up the cause of the young man, who was afraid of the snares of his uncle, the king of the English, and contracted an alliance with him, by giving him in marriage the queen's sister; and on this account he raised him to the aforesaid earldom, which of right belonged to him from the side of his paternal grandmother. For king William had married the daughter of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and of her begot kings William and Henry, and Robert, earl of the Normans, whose son the aforesaid William was. King Henry had set his heart upon obtaining the aforesaid earldom, as due to himself by hereditary right; but was anticipated, as we have just said, by his nephew. Wherefore, lest some mischief should occur to himself from his nephew, he sought the friendship of the earl of Anjou, to whom he had previously been opposed, wishing to unite his daughter, the former empress, in marriage to his son. This at length being satisfactory to both parties, a little afterwards, on the seventh of the kalends of September [26th Aug.], he followed his daughter, whom he had sent before himself into Normandy, and brought the affair to a conclusion, on this condition, that if the king at his death had not an heir born in lawful marriage, his son-in-law should succeed him in the kingdom.

A.D. 1128. The aforesaid earl of Flanders, twice in one week encountering his enemies, with a small force overcame numbers. But soon after, besieging a castle of his opponents, whilst, flushed with the success of victory, he was too hotly pursuing the conquered and flying, he was mortally wounded in the region of the arm and hand, and after surviving three days he died, on the sixth of the kalends of August [27th July]. By favour of the king of the French, king Henry being made his heir by right of relationship, gave the earldom (to be held under him) to Theodore, who derived his descent from the earls of Flanders. Ralph, bishop of Durham, having spent twenty-nine years, three months, and seven days, in his see, ended his life on the nones of September [5th Sept.].

A.D. 1129. William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, died. King Henry liberated from captivity Gualaran, earl of Meulan, and restored him all that had been his except the fortresses; he concluded a peace between himself and the king of the Franks; he received the earldom of Flanders; he also married his daughter, the ex-empress, to the earl of Anjou; his enemies on every side were either conquered or reconciled; prosperity everywhere smiled on him, as he returned to England with a large fleet, on the ides of July [13th July]. A few days had passed, when lo! it was told to the king that his daughter was repudiated by her husband, and cast off without respect, and had returned to Rouen with a very few attendants. This matter grievously annoyed the king's mind. After the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.], accompanied by the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and nobles of almost all England, he came to Winchester; and there gave the bishopric of the church of Winchester to his sister's son Henry, who had been brought up from infancy as a monk at Clugni; the abbey of Glastonbury, the charge of which he had previously received from the king, being joined to the bishopric in augmentation of his dignity. Also the bishopric of Coventry, which is that of Chester, was given to Roger, nephew of Geoffrey Dedinton; and in order that he might be more fit for such a rank, his uncle bestowed on him a present of three thousand marks. They were consecrated on the fifteenth of the kalends of December [17th Nov.], by William, archbishop of the church of Canterbury.

Here ends the history of Simeon, of sweet and holy memory, monk and precentor of the Church of St. Cuthbert, at Durham, embracing a period of four hundred and twenty-nine years and four months.

SIMEON'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF DURHAM.

SIMEON'S HISTORY

OF THE CHURCH OF DURHAM.

HERE[1] begins the preface of Symeon, the reverend Monk and Precentor of the church of St. Cuthbert, of Durham, prefixed to his history of the origin of the Christian religion in the whole of Northumbria, and concerning the faith and lineage of the holy Oswald, king and martyr, and of the preaching of St. Aidan the bishop.

WHEN Oswald, that most Christian king, who was afterwards a martyr, was reigning over the Northumbrians, Aidan, a man of surpassing holiness, was the first who preached the word of faith in the realm of that sovereign, and was the earliest bishop of the church of Lindisfarne, or Durham; and, as that venerable priest and monk, Beda, tells us, in his History of the English,[2] he was the original founder of a residence for a bishop and monks in that church, at the command and by the assistance of this same king, in the year six hundred and thirty-five from our Lord's incarnation. From this mother church originated all the churches and monasteries of the province of the Bernicians; for the region of the Northumbrians is divided into two provinces, those of the Bernicians and Deirans. In this said church there continued for two hundred and forty years a noble and religious body of monks; but, about this time, a savage band of barbarians crossed the sea in countless vessels, and having arrived in England, they devastated the country far and near, and did not spare from death even the kings, of whom there were at that time many in England, one of whom was the glorious martyr, Edmund. They plundered the provinces of the Northumbrians[3] with even greater ferocity; and so thoroughly did they devastate with fire and sword all the churches and all the monasteries, that, after their departure, scarcely a trace of Christianity remained behind them. Eardulf, the bishop of the said church, escaped with difficulty; he and a few followers, who had saved their lives by flight, carried away with them the uncorrupted body of the holy confessor, Cuthbert. Some of the monks, however, who had remained, trusting to the veneration with which the place was regarded, were dragged out of the church, and some were drowned by the enemy in the sea; others were carried off prisoners; the limbs of some were cut off, others were cruelly tortured, and all died together. Such was the destruction of the monastic assembly which had been connected with the body of St. Cuthbert. Besides this, the bishop whom we have mentioned, and several of his successors, in consequence of the barbarians having secured the ascendency over this province for many years, were compelled to wander about hither and thither, carrying with them the treasure of that holy body, never having repose from the presence of the barbarians, and the sword which was hanging over them; until at length, upon the restoration of peace, it was brought to Durham,[1] in consequence of a revelation from heaven, where now it reposes.

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[1] This title is derived from Twysden's edition; that which is prefixed to the Durham MS. is in a late hand, and is as follows: "A short summary of the condition of the church of Lindisfarne and Durham, from the time of Aidan to that of William Karliphe."

[2] See Beda, E. H. § 156.

[3] See the present work, chap. xxi.

The monks of the said church having been thus slaughtered, as we have described, the younger members who were among them, for the purpose of being trained up and instructed in their discipline, escaped as they best might from the hands of the enemy, and accompanied the body of St. Cuthbert. But when, in consequence of the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed, the strict monastic discipline in which they had been reared became slackened, they loathed it so much that they followed the allurements of a laxer mode of life. Nor were there any to constrain them by ecclesiastical censures; for the worship of God had nearly died out upon the destruction of the monasteries and churches. They lived mere secular lives; they were the slaves of the body; they begat sons and daughters; and their descendants, who continued in possession of the church of Durham, lived in the same lax way, for neither did they know anything better than a life according to the flesh, nor did they wish to know anything better. They were styled clerks; but they did not prove themselves to be such, either by their dress or their conversation. They followed the rule of St. Benedict, it is true, so far as to sing the Psalms at the prescribed hours; but this was the only point in which they adhered to the tradition delivered to them by their fathers from primitive monasticism.

But when king William the elder had obtained possession of the kingdom of England, and when religion began to revive in churches and monasteries, one of the clergy of Liege, named Walcher,[2] was elevated to the bishopric of the church of Durham—a man of noble birth, but nobler still by his prudence and honourable conduct. When he perceived that his church was occupied by men who were neither clerks nor monks of his own order, he was greatly distressed; the more especially when he discovered that they refused either to adopt a stricter mode of life, or to assume the usages of ecclesiastics. Having read the History of the English, and the Life of St. Cuthbert, (both of which were written by the venerable Beda,) he discovered—as we have already stated—that a congregation of monks had been established there by Aidan, the first bishop of that church, and by king Oswald, and that they served God both before the episcopate of St. Cuthbert, and after his death, ministering beside his holy body, until—as has been already mentioned—the wickedness of the enemy had swept them all away. Determining, therefore, that he would restore the ancient service in the church, he prayed to God that He would prevent him in all his doings, and further him with his continual help. Not long after this, certain meek-spirited monks,[1] belonging to the southern parts of England, having been admonished from heaven that they should go upon a pilgrimage for God's service into the province of Northumberland, came to bishop Walcher, and entreated him that he would assign them a place within his bishopric, in which they might reside, and that he would permit them to associate with their number such persons—if there were any such—who might be willing to serve God along with themselves. The bishop, being rejoiced at this request, embraced them with affection, as if they had been sent to him by God; he thanked heaven for their arrival, and welcomed them kindly; and, despatching them to Jarrow and Wearmouth, two places within his bishopric, which had formerly been the habitations of holy men, he commanded that they should reside there, and associate with themselves as many as desired to serve God along with them, until buildings, the construction of which required both time and deliberation, should have been prepared for their reception; and that thus they who were monks should be brought into the more immediate vicinity of Cuthbert, the monk and bishop. They did as he had directed; and having rebuilt the ancient dwellings of the saints, several persons profited so far by their life and example, that, renouncing the world, they attached themselves to the originators of this design. The bishop rejoiced greatly hereat; for he hoped that it would be through them that holy religion should be restored to a locality in which he had found scarce any remnant of honesty or piety. In the meantime, the foundations of buildings fitted for the reception of the monks were laid near the walls of the church of Durham; but before they were finished, the bishop was cut off by a cruel death[2] inflicted by the hands of his own people.

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[1] See chaps. xxxvi. and xxxvii.

[2] See chap. liii.

He was succeeded in the episcopate by William,[3] who was acknowledged by all who knew him to be a man of the greatest prudence and forethought, It grieved him to the heart to see the place unprovided with the fitting ecclesiastical and monastic arrangements; and he discovered, by the examination of earlier documents, that this church had been first founded, and afterwards perfected, by the instrumentality of monks, that is to say, by Aidan the monk and bishop, and those other monks by whom he had been accompanied; but that, in consequence of the destruction of these persons by the pagans, the church had lapsed from its primitive service. He determined, therefore, by God's assistance, that the older state of things should be restored; and that he would complete what his predecessor had begun. He[4] addressed himself, in the first instance, to those persons whom he found in possession of the church; desiring them to become either regular clerks or monks, so that they might lead a life in subjection to some rule or other. But they refused both; for it was not an easy thing for them to abandon habits in which they had grown old, and to accept a new system. The bishop then laid the whole matter before the great king William, who forthwith transmitted an embassy to pope Gregory the seventh of holy memory, acquainting him with what the bishop had discovered in books with respect to the church, and what he had seen as to its present condition: he wished, moreover, to consult him about these and other matters. When the bishop had spoken only a few words respecting the sanctity of the holy father Cuthbert, the king was perfectly satisfied as to the expediency of the entire arrangement; namely, that the monks whom he had found at these two places in his bishopric, namely, Wearmouth and Jarrow, should be united near the body of the saint, since the smallness of the see rendered the existence of three monasteries impossible. When this arrangement had been confirmed by apostolic authority, the king, the archbishops, and the bishops were informed by the pope what his pleasure was respecting it. The king was exceedingly rejoiced herewith, and in the presence of the whole of the nobility of the realm, he commanded the bishop to carry this object into effect with all possible speed. He did so; for he summoned the monks (the number of whom had now considerably increased, the Holy Spirit having collected together those who had been dispersed abroad) from the places which we have mentioned, and he translated them to Durham,[1] where he inseparably bound them and their successors to the body of the blessed Cuthbert, that they should profess their adherence to the mode of life and conversation which had been established by their ancestors. And thus it was that he had not introduced a new monastic order, but, by God's help, he restored the older one.

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[1] See chap. lvi. [2] See chap. lix. [3] See chap. lx. [4] See chap. lxi.

HERE[2] BEGINS THE APOLOGY OF SYMEON THE MONK.

HAVING been required by the authority of my elders to narrate the origin of this church, (that is, the church of Durham,) I at first thought that I should decline to obey the order, in consequence of my want of skill and experience; but, on the other hand, confiding rather in my obedience to those who commanded me than my own talents, I have applied myself to the task according to the best of my ability. I have collected together, and put into order, whatever I found scattered about in loose memoranda; by which means, those persons who are more skilful than myself may (if my words please them not) the more readily find the means of accomplishing what I have here attempted.[1]

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[1] See chap. lii.

[2] The Durham MS. contains the following title, but written by a more recent hand: "Here begins a Treatise concerning the Condition of the Church of Lindisfarne (or of Durham), according to the venerable Beda; which is followed by the History of the Bishops of Durham."

It seems fitting, therefore, that a list should be given of the names of all the bishops of that church, from its first founder to him[2] who holds it at present; and let future scribes take care that they fail not in appending the names of those who shall come hereafter:—

Aidan.
Finan.
Colman.
Tuda.
Eata.
Cuthbert.
Eadbert.
Eadfrid.
Ethelwold.
Kynewulf.
Higbald.
Ecgbert.
Heathured.
Ecgred.
Eanbert.
Eardulf.
Cutheard.
Tilred.
Wigred.
Uhtred.
Sixhelm.
Aldred.
Elfsig.
Aldhun.
Eadmund.
Eadred.
Egelric.
Egelwin.
Walcher.
William.
Ralph.[3]

Here follow in writing the names of those monks in this church who, to this time, have made profession before the incorruptible body of the most holy Cuthbert; and it is our earnest request that the careful diligence of future times will add to this, as to the previous list, the names of all such as, by the favour of Christ, shall hereafter make profession there.

And, besides this, we beseech the reader that he would pray to our Lord Jesus Christ, both for him who commanded this work to be undertaken, and for those who, in obedience to that command, have brought it to completion. And lastly, that he be mindful to invoke the mercy of God upon all persons whose names he shall see here written; for the living, that here they may receive an increase of holy profession, and the reward of a good perseverance hereafter; and for the dead, that, having received the pardon of their offences, they may be permitted to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.[4]

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[1] Here in the MS. occurs a blank space, equivalent to about two lines.

[2] A slight erasure in the MS., the word "Ralph" having apparently been removed.

[3] This list is written in the hand of the scribe by whom the History was copied, but the names of subsequent occupants of the see have been added from time to time.

[4] Here, in the Durham MS., follows a long catalogue of the monks of Durham, which it has been considered unnecessary to repeat here.

HERE[1] BEGINS THE TREATISE CONCERNING THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THIS CHURCH; THAT IS, THE CHURCH OF DURHAM.

CHAP. I.—CONCERNING THE FAITH AND DESCENT OF ST. OSWALD, AND THE PREACHING OF ST. AIDAN, WHO ARE THE CHIEF FOUNDATION-STONES OF THE CHURCH OF DURHAM.

THIS holy church derives its original, both as regards its possessions and its religion, from the most fervent faith of Oswald, that most illustrious king of the Northumbrians, and a most precious martyr; for, to the praise of God, it preserves within the safe custody of our shrine, with inviolate care, those most sacred relics, worthy of all veneration, the incorrupt body of the most holy father, Cuthbert, and the adorable head of that king and martyr, Oswald. For although the pressure of circumstances has removed this church from the spot in which it was at the first established, yet (by God's permission) it still retains its original character, which it has derived from the constancy of its faith, from its dignity and authority as an episcopal see, and from its adherence to the monastic institutions which were herein established by king Oswald and bishop Aidan. Since, then, it is our purpose to pen a truthful narrative of the fortunes of this church, it is only fitting that we should say a few words with respect to the hereditary nobility of this sovereign, according to the flesh. For he was of an exceedingly illustrious descent,—not only his father but his grandfathers were kings; and of his brothers, two sat upon the throne, the one as his predecessor, the other succeeded him. He was the son of that most powerful king, Ethelfrid, whose father was Ethelric, whose father again was Ida; and from Ida, as Beda[2] tells us, springs the royal family of the Northumbrians. His pedigree was no less illustrious on his mother's side than on his father's; for she was the sister of king Edwin. But as these ancestors of his were unacquainted with the faith of Christ, he sprang up like a rose from out of thorns; for not only was he regenerated to Christ in the sacred font, but he lived a life most worthy of that holy regeneration. When he succeeded to the throne, he forthwith subjugated himself and his subjects to Christ; for he was an efficient companion and assistant to bishop Aidan in the diffusion of the word of faith: for while the bishop preached in his own language (that is to say, in the Scottish tongue), this king, the devoted servant of the eternal King, was in the habit of standing by and faithfully interpreting to his nobles and attendants the words of truth; for he was as familiar with the language in which the bishop spoke as with his own. "The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation,"[3] of which

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[1] The title in the MS. is as follows: "A Chronicle respecting the Origin and Progress of the Church of Durham, belonging to the registry, or office of the chancery of the church of Durham."

[2] See Eccl. Hist. § 452, A.D. 547.

[3] Id. iii. 1, 2, etc.

Beda is the author, fully declares how illustrious a man this was, how great the devotion of his faith, how merciful and liberal to the poor, how earnestly attentive to prayer, even amidst the anxieties of a kingdom, and how glorious the many miracles which he wrought after his decease, in proof that he was at that time alive with Christ.

Here we are desirous to weave into one narrative, and to embody in one little book, as a memorial for posterity, the various incidents which are scattered throughout this work of Beda's, and in other treatises, so far as they illustrate the origin and the progress of this holy church of Durham. There are a few matters which, through a deficiency of historians, have not been committed to writing, and these we have resolved to append to our extracts from existing documents; our knowledge respecting them having been derived from the information of our trustworthy elders, who had either been eye-witnesses of these incidents, or had frequently heard them recounted by religious and credible personages, who themselves had personal knowledge of the same.

Chap. II.—As to the Year in which the blessed Oswald founded the Church of Lindisfarne, and that in which he died; and concerning the Episcopate of Aidan, and the Incorruptibility of the Arm of St. Oswald.

So, then, in the year of our Lord's incarnation six hundred and thirty-five (which is the one hundred and eighty-eighth year after the arrival of the Angles in Britain, and the thirty-ninth after that of St. Augustine,) the most pious king Oswald[1] appointed for Aidan, on his arrival, an episcopal see in the island of Lindisfarne, where that bishop commenced to erect a dwelling for the monks by whom he had been accompanied. In this he was acting in obedience to the king, who also assisted him herein; and thus, by the joint agency of the king and the bishop, the tender faith was confirmed by the pontifical authority, in order that it might for ever flourish and extend itself in a monastic institution. Hence, as we read, and have understood from the information of our elders, it was customary for monks to be elected to the episcopate of this church, after the example of Aidan, its first bishop, who was himself a monk, and one who, along with all his associates, led a life of monachism. This was observed from the year of our Lord's incarnation six hundred and thirty-five, until the year one thousand and seventy-two, when a religious man of the order of clerks, by name Gualcher,[2] a native of Lorraine, was ordained bishop; for I do not consider that that person[3] ought to be reckoned among the episcopate who, at an earlier period, had been ordained from among the clergy through the heresy of Simon: whom, however, death prevented from exercising any episcopal function. But (to return to my subject) Aidan, who was the first monk and bishop of that church, was himself a pattern to all monks and bishops who should

[1] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. § 155.

[2] See this present History, chap. lvii.

[3] Id. chap. xliv.

succeed him, pointing out to them the way of the Lord in which they ought to walk. After the venerable Beda[1] has detailed this man's most praiseworthy life, he adds: "And, that I may sum up much commendation in few words, I have to state—and my information is derived from those persons who were acquainted with him—his study was to neglect none of the duties which are inculcated in the gospels, or in the writings of the apostles or prophets, but to fulfil all of them to the utmost of his ability."

In the eighth year of the episcopate of Aidan, that most holy and devout king, Oswald, the earliest standard-bearer of the Christian faith in the whole nation of the Bernicians, and the founder of the church of Lindisfarne, from which every other church within the province derives its origin, fell in battle against the pagans, in the ninth year of his reign. His head was buried in the cemetery of the said church, but his arms and his hands (which the king by whom he was killed had ordered to be cut off) were buried in the royal city;[2] the right hand and arm continuing uncorrupt, according to the benedictional prayer of bishop Aidan; and it gives proof, even to our present age, by its preservation, of the merits of each of these two individuals, the king and the bishop.

This was frequently attested by a monk of our church (that is, of Durham), named Swartebrand, a man venerable from his grey hairs and his abundant simplicity of character, who was himself an eyewitness, and who died not long ago, during the episcopate of bishop William. For, as Beda[3] narrates, when the king was seated at table, upon the holy day of Easter, and there had just been placed before him a silver dish laden with kingly dainties, he was suddenly made aware that a great crowd of poor people were sitting in the streets, waiting for him to send them some alms; whereupon he immediately commanded that the meat which had been set before him should be carried out to those poor people, and that the dish should be cut into pieces, and divided among them. Delighted with the kindness *indicated by this action*, the bishop, who was at the table, took hold of the king's hand, and exclaimed, "May this hand never grow old." His bones were translated to a monastery situated within the province of Lindsey.[4]

CHAP. III.—CONCERNING THE DEATH OF ST. AIDAN, THE DEPARTURE OF WHOSE SPIRIT WAS REVEALED TO THE EYES OF THE BLESSED CUTHBERT; AND AS TO THE PERIOD WHEN CUTHBERT ASSUMED THE HABIT OF A MONK.

AFTER having spent seventeen years in this episcopal see, bishop Aidan entered upon the way trodden by his fathers, and he was one of those to whom the death of the body opens a joyful entrance into another life. How great was the glory of his illustrious merits in the sight of Christ, is testified by the miracles by which he made himself conspicuous, both before and after his death; as may be seen in the Third Book of the History to which we have already referred. The most holy Cuthbert,[1]—that Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile,—being at that time living in the flesh, but not after the flesh,—he, whose whole conversation from his childhood was in heaven,—he, who in his youth imitated the life of an angel, —was permitted to witness the holy and triumphal entrance of the bishop into heaven, whither he was conducted by shining choirs of rejoicing spirits. It happened that this future shepherd of souls was at that time keeping a solitary watch among the mountains, near the river Leder, over some cattle; and while he was spending the night in prayer, his love and devotion carried him so wholly heavenward, that he was deemed worthy of a glimpse of such exceeding glory and brightness. Stimulated by this vision, the youth beloved of God desired to attain a more exalted degree of perfection, and to attain the glory of a reward which should place him among the more renowned ones; and in the morning he handed over to their owners the cattle which he had been tending, and resolved that he would seek in a monastery a life of greater perfection. It occurred in the year of our Lord's incarnation six hundred and fifty-one, being the fifty-fifth since the arrival in Britain of St. Augustine, the seventeenth year after the province of the Bernicians had received the faith of Christ by the care of king Oswald; and in this same year that bishop Aidan went to heaven, (being the ninth year of the reign of king Oswin,) this most holy youth, now dedicating himself to the service of Christ alone, entered the monastery of Melrose, where he was received by that most reverend abbot, Eata, whose attention had been directed towards Cuthbert by Boisil. This Boisil was a man of great holiness, and one having the spirit of prophecy, who was then, in subordination to the abbot, president of the monastery. Upon being associated with the brethren, he showed forth (as Beda[2] tells us in the book which his lucid pen has written concerning the life of Cuthbert) who and what he was, how far his virtue was in advance of the others, by his strict observance of the discipline which is according to rule, by his earnestness in reading, labouring, and watching, by his abstinence from every kind of intoxicating drink, and by his devotedness to every work of piety. In short, when he became a monk, he became a true monk,—a monk to be respected, one in every particular worthy of praise, one who showed by his soul and body, and dress, that he had joined the armies of the Lord. In consequence of his inbred purity and religious disposition, the blessed Boisil loved him more than the others, and instructed him in the knowledge of the Scriptures; as is evidenced by the very book out of which the one instructed the other, a volume preserved to this day in our church, and which, after so many centuries, exhibits even at this present time a remarkable freshness and beauty. When Boisil was translated to heaven, Cuthbert succeeded his instructor in the office of provost; and by his daily progress in virtue, he endeavoured to equal, or even to surpass, his predecessor. If any one would wish to be informed as to his diligence in calling all, by word and example, to heavenly pursuits,—how illustrious he was by the splendour of his miracles, —how endowed with the grace of prophetic illumination,—let him read the book concerning his life, which we have already mentioned.

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[1] Eccl. Hist. § 162. [2] Id. § 184. [3] Id. § 166. [4] Id. § 181.

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[1] See Beda's Life of St. Cuthbert, chap. iv.

[2] Id. § 11.

Chap. IV.—Concerning Bishop Finan, how he baptized the King of the Mercians, and ordained a Bishop for that Nation; and of the Proceedings of Cedd, who was ordained by him.

Finan succeeded Aidan in the bishopric; he was of the same nation and monastery as that from which his predecessor had been despatched. He built a church in the island of Lindisfarne, which was in keeping with his episcopal residence; and, at a later time, the most reverend archbishop Theodore dedicated it to the honour of the blessed apostle Peter; and Eadbert, the bishop of that place, (of whom more hereafter,) stripped off its covering of thatch, and carefully overlaid the whole of it, not only the roof but even the walls themselves, with sheets of lead. Penda,[1] the prince of the Midland Angles, was baptized by bishop Finan, in the province of the Northumbrians; and he returned home again with great joy, taking with him four priests, whose learning and previous life gave proof that they were well qualified to instruct and to baptize that nation. Not long afterwards, Sigbert,[2] the king of the Eastern Saxons, received the washing of salvation at the hands of the same bishop; and thus, by the care of king Oswin and the conversion of king Sigbert, that province recovered the faith which it had formerly rejected when it had expelled bishop Mellitus;[3] and the word of Christ was preached therein by the priest Cedd, an Angle by descent, and a monk of the church of Lindisfarne, whom king Oswin had despatched thither for that very purpose; for he had on a former occasion preached the word, with much fruit, amongst the Midland Angles. After he had thus gathered together to the Lord a large church in the province of the East Saxons, it happened that upon a certain occasion he returned to the church of Lindisfarne, to have a conference with bishop Finan; who, when he had understood how the work of the gospel had prospered in his hands, made him a bishop in the nation of the East Saxons, into which province he returned with his newly acquired dignity; and having collected an assemblage of the servants of Christ, both in the city which is called Ythancester,[4] and in that other named Tilaburg, (the former of which is situated upon the bank of the river Pente, the latter on that of the Thames,) in these he instructed them how to observe the discipline which a regular life requires. He founded a third monastery also, in the province of the Northumbrians, in a place called Lestingaheu;[5] and the religious observances of this he conducted according to the rites of the inhabitants of Lindisfarne, in which he himself had been educated. Upon his death, which occurred in this place, he entrusted its government to his brother Ceadda, who had himself been a monk of the church of Lindisfarne; for he had been one of Aidan's scholars. Some time

[1] Beda, E. H. § 210. [2] Id. § 213. [3] Id. § 103. [4] Id. § 214. [5] Id. § 218.

after this, Ceadda was ordained bishop of the church of York, at the request of king Oswiu; and not long subsequently, archbishop Theodore ordered that he should preside over the province of the Mercians, and he fixed his episcopal see at a place called Licetfeld.

Chap. V.—How Colmann resigned the Bishopric, and of the Death of Tuda, and how he procured Eata for his successor.

Finan having died in the tenth year of his episcopate, he was succeeded in the government of the church by Colmann, who had also been sent from Scotland. After he had spent three years in the episcopate, there arose a dispute about the keeping of Easter;[1] upon which he preferred to adhere to his national usages; and abandoning his see, he returned to his own country, in the thirtieth year after the Scots had entered upon the duties of the episcopate within the province of the Angles. How great was their moderation, how great their self-restraint, was proved by the place which he governed; for upon their departure very few houses were found; they had no property, saving only cattle; for if they received any sums of money from the rich they immediately distributed it among the poor. For there was no need to hoard up wealth, or to provide houses for the entertainment of the rich ones of this world; for they never resorted to the church except for the sole purpose of praying and hearing the word of God. For whenever, opportunity so requiring it, the king himself happened to come here, he was accompanied by not more than five or six attendants, and he departed as soon as his prayers were finished; and if they happened to take any refreshment, then they were contented with the frugal and daily fare of the brethren, and expected nothing more. For, at this time, the sole anxiety of those teachers was to serve God, not the world; their care was about the nourishment of the soul, not of the belly: and so entirely free were they from all taint of avarice, that no one accepted lands and possessions for the building of monasteries, unless constrained thereto by the powerful ones of the world; and this custom was for some time observed among the churches of the Northumbrians.

On his return home, Colmann took with him a portion of the bones of the most reverend father Aidan, part of them he left within the church over which he had ruled; and he commanded that they should be buried within the sacristy. Upon his return to his own country, Tuda, the servant of Christ, took the bishopric of the Northumbrians in his stead; he had been instructed and ordained bishop amongst the southern Scots. He was a good and a religious man; but a pestilence, which broke out and depopulated the province of the Northumbrians, cut him off that same year. Then the most reverend Eata, a man of exceeding gentleness, (who had been abbot in the monastery called Mailros,) was appointed as their abbot, to rule over such of the brethren as were content to remain in the church of Lindisfarne, upon the departure of the Scots; and it is reported that when Colmann was going away, he asked and obtained this favour from King Oswiu, because Eata was one of those twelve English youths whom Aidan, on his first arrival in his episcopal see, had undertaken to instruct in Christianity; for the king was exceedingly attached to this bishop Colmann, in consequence of the prudence which he exhibited.

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[1] Beda, E. H. § 226.

Chap. VI.—As to the Time when Eata received the Bishopric, and when the blessed Cuthbert was converted, and to how great spiritual perfection he attained.

In the year six hundred and sixty-four from our Lord's incarnation, (being the thirtieth year after an episcopal see and a dwelling for monks had been established in the island of Lindisfarne by those most earnest worshippers of Christ, king Oswald and bishop Aidan,) and in the same year in which the Scots had abandoned the church and returned home, abbot Eata, as we have mentioned, assumed the care of that church or monastery; and having done so, he removed thither the blessed Cuthbert, who was now spending, in the monastery of Melrose, the fourteenth year of his life, after having become a monk. Eata's object in so doing was this; that Cuthbert should instruct the brethren of Lindisfarne how to observe the regular discipline, as well by his authority, since he was their provost, as by the example of his virtuous life. The venerable priest and monk Beda[1] has stated, in the book which he has written concerning the life and miracles of that same father Cuthbert, why that place was formerly under the rule of bishops, and then under that of an abbot; and also how it happened that the custom originated of choosing bishops to the care of this church rather from amongst the order of monks than of clerks. His words are these: "Let no one be surprised, that in this same little island of Lindisfarne, we have stated that there is a residence for a bishop as well as for an abbot and monks; for such indeed is the truth. One and the same residence shelters both these servants of God at one and the same time; yea, it affords a residence for all the monks. For Aidan, who was the first bishop of this place, was also a monk, and his invariable usage was to observe a monastic life in every respect, as did all his followers; and hence it is that even to this present day all the rulers of that place execute the office of a bishop in such manner as that, whilst the monastery is under the rule of an abbot, (whom they elect, with the advice of the brethren,) all the priests, deacons, chanters, readers, and all other ecclesiastics of every grade, observe the monastic rule along with the bishop." But upon this head we have said enough.

When Cuthbert, that man of God, had arrived at the church or monastery of Lindisfarne, he lost no time in communicating to the brethren the rules of monastic discipline, as well by his instructions as by his mode of life; and, as was his usual custom, he stimulated, by his frequent visits, the people who resided in his neighbourhood to seek after and prepare themselves for the joys of heaven. Having become celebrated by his power in working miracles, he, by his continued prayers, restored to their former health many who were afflicted with various diseases and torments; he cured many who were vexed by evil spirits; and this he did not only when present, by his prayers, his touch, his commands, or his exorcisms, but even when absent his prayers sufficed for the purpose; and even sometimes nothing more than the announcement that they would be cured brought the cure. There were in the monastery some of the brethren who would have preferred obeying their earlier customs rather than the discipline which is according to rule, but these he overcame by the modest power of his patience; and by daily exercises he led them to adopt, little by little, that estate of higher promise. He was conspicuous from his patience, he was unconquered in his steady endurance of every adversity which could afflict either the mind or the body; no less did he exhibit a cheerful countenance in the midst of calamities; so that it might be clearly seen that he was a man whom the internal consolations of the Holy Spirit enabled to be victorious over external pressure. By these and such like spiritual exercises, not only did this venerable personage excite all good men to imitate him, but further, by the regularity of his life, he recalled from their obstinacy in error those who had been living in sin and rebellion. Let those who wish to know him read his life, and they will discover that the abundant grace of the Holy Spirit filled to overflowing this vessel with every virtue; let them learn, by the precedent of this man, the respective duties of submission and authority, the excellence of justice and piety, how to temper gentleness with severity; all these duties, I repeat, they may learn from his example. Let those monks, who now serve him, learn how to be in subjection to those who have the rule over them,—learn obedience, love, reverence, and all submission, in purity of heart. And let all those who are his successors in the duty of government, learn from his example how to overcome the injuries of their opponents by the modest virtue of patience; let them discover how to reprove transgressors by the fervency of their zeal for justice, and in the spirit of meekness to be gentle in the pardoning of the penitent. For when the transgressors were confessing their sins to him, he was the first to shed tears in his sorrow for their weaknesses; and he showed them, by his own example, though he were guiltless, what course ought to be adopted by the sinner. None left him without having tasted of the joys of consolation, none carried away the sorrow with which he had been oppressed when he sought an interview.

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[1] See the Life of St. Cuthbert, § 25.

CHAP. VII.—AT WHAT TIME THE BLESSED CUTHBERT ACCEPTED THE PRIORATE OF THE CHURCH OF LINDISFARNE; AND HOW HE WAS DELIGHTED WITH THE LIFE OF AN ANCHORITE.

IN the year six hundred and seventy-six after the incarnation of our Lord, (which is the sixth year of the reign of king Ecgfrid,) when Cuthbert, the man of the Lord, had spent more than twelve years as prior over the monastery of Lindisfarne, he withdrew himself into the private seclusion of an anchorite's life, having obtained the permission of his prior and the brethren; striving there, as elsewhere, to advance from good to become better, and from better best. There thou, O sweetest father, wast so much nearer God as thou wast further from the world and its clamorous anxieties; there thou, O most holy and most revered, along with Mary didst sit at the feet of the Lord, having chosen that better part which shall be thine for ever. There thy thirsting soul desired access to God, the Fountain of living waters, and fainted for the courts of the Lord's house; there thy flesh and thy heart rejoiced in the living God, and thou didst taste and see how sweet the Lord was, and thou wast blessed, because thy hope was in Him. With what earnestness, with how many sighs of love, with what affection, with what repentance, and with how many tears, didst thou wish, and ask, and entreat, and exclaim with the prophet, "Lord, I have loved the habitation of thine house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth" (Ps. xxvi. 8). For, setting aside all other desires, his whole life expressed only this prayer, "One thing have I sought of the Lord, which I will require; even that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life" (Ps. xxvii. 4). And so thou, blessed among the blessed, didst dwell in the house of the Lord; and thou shalt praise him for ever and ever.

The spot in which the servant of the Lord obtained such privileges is the island of Farne, which is surrounded on the one side by a deep sea, on the other by the boundless ocean; at that time it produced no water whatever, nor tree, nor corn; and it was unfitted for the residence of mankind, for it was the habitation of evil spirits. Miracles accompanied the holy man even thither; his prayers called a well out of the stony rock, he obtained a crop of corn from the hard earth; and, having expelled the old enemy and his attendants, the place became fitted for the abode of man. For after this temple of the Holy Spirit took up his residence in this island, the evil spirit so hated that locality, that the servant of Christ, during the period of his abode in it, experienced no annoyance from the illusions of devils.

CHAP. VIII.—AS TO THE TIME AT WHICH THE HOLY BEDA WAS BORN, AND ABOUT HIS MONASTERY; AND HOW REMARKABLE ENGLAND WAS AT THIS PERIOD FOR LEARNING.

IN the second year which this most holy father spent in a life of solitude, (that is, the year six hundred and seventy-seven from the incarnation, and the seventh of the reign of king Ecgfrid, and the ninth after the arrival of archbishop Theodore in Britain,) Beda was born, in the province of the Northumbrians, in the property belonging to the monastery of the apostles Peter and Paul, which is at Wearmouth and Jarrow. When he was seven years of age, he was entrusted by his relations to the care of the most reverend abbot Benedict, and afterwards to Ceolfrid, that he might be educated; and this occurred in the tenth year after the foundation of that same monastery of St. Peter the Apostle, and the third after the commencement of the monastery of St. Paul. So great was the agreement and affection which existed between these two monasteries, so close the bond of concord and brotherly love by which they were united, that (as Beda[1] himself afterwards describes it) they might be regarded as one monastery located in two separate places. Hence it is that when he mentions it, in his History of the Angles,[2] he speaks of them as one; "The monastery of Peter and Paul, situated at the mouth of the river Wear, and near the river Tyne, at a place called Jarrow." Here that youth of good hope was carefully instructed in divine and secular learning, in order that he should become the organ of the Holy Spirit, by Whom his mind was so illuminated for the strengthening of the holy catholic church, that he was to be the author of many books of commentaries upon the Old and New Testaments. After he had been instructed in the Latin tongue, he attained no mean skill in that of Greece; for he was a student in that monastery at the time when archbishop Theodore and abbot Adrian—men thoroughly acquainted with secular and ecclesiastical literature—visited the whole of Britain; and having collected together a crowd of disciples, instructed them daily in useful knowledge, so that their hearers were made acquainted with the rules of metre, astronomy, and ecclesiastical calculation, as well as the Holy Scriptures. This we learn from Beda[3] himself, who immediately afterwards adds: "In proof of this, there remain, even to the present day, some of their scholars, to whom the Latin and Greek languages are as familiar as their own native tongue." When father Cuthbert departed to the heavenly country, Beda, the future historian of his life, at this time in his eleventh year, had now devoted four years to study in the monastery; but as we shall have an opportunity, ere long, of speaking of him more fully, we shall now return to the point from which our narrative diverged.

Chap. IX.—Concerning the Election of St. Cuthbert, and how he was induced to leave Farne; and where he was consecrated, and of the Gifts given to him upon that occasion by King Egfrid.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation six hundred and seventy-eight, (being the eighth year of the reign of king Ecgfrid,) a dispute originated between that king and Wilfrid, who for no short time had administered the episcopate of the whole province of the

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[1] See Life of the abbot Benedict, § 7.

[2] See §§ 427, 453, and the present History chap. xiii.

[3] See Eccl. Hist. § 256.

Northumbrians; in consequence of which he was driven from his bishopric, and in his stead two bishops were ordained at York, by archbishop Theodore, for the government of the nation of the Northumbrians; namely, Bosa, who was to preside over the province of Deira, and the abbot Eata, (whom we have frequently mentioned,) for the province of the Bernicians. The former fixed his episcopal residence at the city of York, the latter at the church of Hexham and Lindisfarne; and both of them had been monks before they attained the rank of the bishopric. After Eata had presided over the church of Lindisfarne as its abbot for fourteen years, he assumed the government of these two churches, in the third year after father Cuthbert had entered upon the solitude of his hermit's residence. Three years after the departure of Wilfrid, Theodore ordained Tunbert to the church of Hexham; while for four years Eata continued in the government of the church of Lindisfarne.

After the lapse of these four years, it so happened that a large synod was congregated, under the presidency of archbishop Theodore of blessed memory, and in the presence of the most pious and God-beloved king Egfrid, at a place called Twiford (which means The double ford), near the river Alne; where, by the unanimous consent of all, the blessed father Cuthbert was chosen to the bishopric of the church of Lindisfarne. When he refused to be withdrawn from his seclusion, even after many messengers and letters had been despatched for the purpose, at length the king himself, accompanied by the most holy bishop Trumwine, and many other ecclesiastics and noblemen, sailed to the island. Several of the brethren came thither from the isle of Lindisfarne, for the same purpose. They all knelt down, and they adjured him by the Lord, they wept and prayed, until they carried him off to the synod; he also weeping while he abandoned his beloved retreat. On his arrival there, the united wishes of the assembly overcame his repugnance, and he was compelled to bend his neck so as to accept the office of a bishop; induced thereto chiefly by the words of Boisil, the servant of the Lord, who, with a prophetic mind, had foretold him all that should come to pass, and had predicted that he should become a bishop. However, he was not at once ordained; but the winter, then close at hand, was allowed to pass over. Thus, after he had dedicated to God nine years of a life of solitude, he was, by His good pleasure, elevated to the honour of the bishophood, being consecrated at York, on the seventh of the kalends of April [26th March], in the year of our Lord six hundred and eighty-five, on Easter-day, in the presence of king Ecgfrid, in the twelfth year of that sovereign's reign. Seven bishops met together for his consecration, the chief of whom was archbishop Theodore of blessed memory, by whom also the office of ordination was performed. He was at the first elected to the bishopric of the church of Hexham, in the room of Tunbert, who had been deposed from that diocese; but, because he much preferred the church of Lindisfarne, in which he had resided, it was arranged that Eata should return to this his see in the church of Hexham, over which he had been ordained at the first, and that Cuthbert should undertake the government of the church of Lindisfarne. The said king and Theodore gave him the whole land in the city of York which extends from the wall of the church of St. Peter, as far as the great gate towards the west, and from the wall of that church, as far as the city wall upon the south; they gave him also the vill of Craik, with a circuit of three miles around it, that he might have a dwelling in which to rest on his way to York, or on his return thence. There he appointed a residence for monks; but because this land was inadequate for the purpose, he received as an augmentation, Lugubalia, (which is called Luel,) embracing a circuit of fifteen miles, where he also established a congregation of nuns, and consecrated the queen, to whom he had given a religious garb; here also he founded schools for the improvement of divine service. Other landed possessions also were assigned to him, which it would be tedious to specify; nor is this necessary, since they are recorded in the writings belonging to the church. But in the same year in which king Ecgfrid had caused this venerable father to be ordained bishop, he was killed at Nechtanesmere (that is, The lake of Nechtan), along with a large portion of the troops which he had taken with him to plunder the land of the Picts. This happened, as the same father Cuthbert had predicted, upon the thirteenth of the kalends of June [20th May], in the fifteenth year of his reign. His body was buried in Iona, the island of Columba.

CHAP. X.—HOW CUTHBERT LIVED WHILE HE WAS BISHOP; AND HOW HE DEPARTED FROM THE WORLD, AND HOW HE PERMITTED HIMSELF TO BE CARRIED BACK TO THE CHURCH OF LINDISFARNE.

IMITATING the blessed apostles, the venerable Cuthbert adorned with good works the episcopal office which he had assumed; for by his continual prayers he protected the people committed to his charge, and called them to mind the things of heaven by his wholesome exhortations. Moreover, the things which he said ought to be done, these he himself did; a thing to which all teachers should give heed. Just as at an earlier period he had given an example of obedience and humility to inferiors by his own submission to his spiritual father, and when as provost had exhibited in himself the pattern of how the provost of a monastery should exercise authority, so now that he had become a bishop, he left behind him an example of what should be the life of a bishop. Therefore, let those who follow him in this exalted position, study how they may also follow his life, that, by a conversation worthy of such a predecessor, they may become, like him, well pleasing to God. Let them carefully contrast, on the one hand, his mode of life—on the other, their own; let them look into this matter carefully, I repeat, that they, laden with their sins, sit not down in that see which he rendered glorious and renowned by the splendour of every virtue. To adopt the language which the church employs when she celebrates his praise, thanking God for him, he shone forth as an illustrious personification of every virtue, in angelic chastity, in prophetic dignity, in apostolic virtue. He was chiefly noted for the fervency of his love towards God, for his modest patience, for the earnest devotion of his unceasing prayers, for his affability to all who came to him for the sake of comfort; for he counted that if he were employed in affording the aid of his exhortation to the weaker brethren, this was no less acceptable than prayer to God; for He who has commanded, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," has also said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour." He was remarkable for self-severity by means of fasting; he was ever intent upon heavenly matters through the grace of repentance. And, lastly, when he offered to God the sacrifice of the health-giving victim, he did not elevate his voice, but tearfully put up his prayers to the Lord from the bottom of his heart.

After having spent two years in the episcopate, he returned to his island and monastery; and, shortly after the holy festival of our Lord's Nativity, he was warned from above that the day of his death was at hand, or rather of his entrance into that life which alone is worthy of the name of life. After having spent nearly two months in the enjoyment of the quiet which he had recovered, he was seized with a sudden disease, and the presence of temporal pain began to prepare him for the joys of perpetual blessedness. During three weeks he was unceasingly afflicted with a disease which at length brought him to his end. His sickness began upon the fourth day of the week, and again, on the fourth day of the week his sickness ended, and he departed to the Lord. During his illness he sent this message by Herefrid, a priest of devout religion, who at this time governed the monastery of Lindisfarne as abbot, saying: "When God shall have taken my soul, bury me in this my dwelling, near the place in which I used to pray, towards the south, and on the eastern side of the holy cross which I have there erected. On the north of the said oratory there is a coffin hidden under the turf, which was given me some time ago by the venerable abbot Cudda; after you have wrapped my corpse in the linen cloth which you will find here, deposit it in the same coffin. Whilst I was alive, I refused to wear it; but out of my affection for the abbess Verca, that woman beloved of God, who sent it to me, I carefully preserved it, in order that my dead body might be shrouded therein." But when the brethren entreated him that he would permit his corpse to be removed to the church of Lindisfarne, for interment there, he added: "My wish certainly was that here I should rest in the body, for here it is that I have fought my little warfare for the Lord; here I desire to finish my course; it is from this spot that the merciful Judge will remove me to receive (as I hope) the crown of justice; and even for your own sakes, I think it will be more expedient that I should repose here, that thus you may escape the visits of fugitives and criminals, who would probably flock to the burial-place of my body; for, mean as I am, there has gone abroad the report that I am the servant of God, and therefore you would very frequently find it necessary to intercede for such characters as these with the secular authorities; so that the presence of my body would be productive of much trouble to you." But when the brethren had been instant with many and long-continued entreaties, and had urged in reply that this labour would be easily borne by them, and would even be acceptable, the man of God at length answered, after deliberation: "If you are determined to overrule my arrangements, and to carry back my remains thither, it appears to me to be very expedient that you should bring my corpse within your church, so that you can visit my sepulchre when you please; and it will be in your own power to decide which of those persons who come shall be admitted." The brethren knelt upon the ground, and thanked him for the permission and the advice which he had given them; and for this permission and advice we also render our thanks, not only upon bended knees, but also with the whole body, and with hearts bowed down before him. We, I say, offer him our thanks; for he has permitted us, though unworthy, to see his uncorrupted body, and to handle it with our hands, four hundred and eighteen years[1] after his decease. Let us return thanks to St. Cuthbert, and let us, out of our love towards him, think it a light and pleasant task to defend those who flee to his sepulchre for protection; and let us consider as trifling and unimportant any adversity brought upon us by this present uncertain world, so long as we rejoice in having in our possession that inestimable treasure of his holy body.

But now when he saw, from the progress of the disease, that the time of his dissolution was at hand, he bequeathed to his brethren who survived him this address as their inheritance; and he thus bade them farewell, speaking to them a few words, but effective ones, respecting peace and humility, and how they should shun those persons who rather strove against peace than for it. "Keep peace," said he, "one with another always, and the love of God; and when need demands that you deliberate as to your estate, take great care that you be of one mind in your decisions." And he subjoined those other exhortations for the preservation of faith and love, and for the observance of the life which is according to rule, which are to be seen in his biography.[2] When the usual period had arrived for the offering up of the nightly prayer, he fortified his departure by receiving the wholesome sacraments; and, having raised up his eyes to heaven and stretched out his hands, he breathed forth his soul, which had so long been occupied in the contemplation of the praises and the joys of heaven. Thus he died, in the year six hundred and eighty-seven, after having spent two years in the bishopric; fifty-three years after king Oswald and Aidan had established an episcopal see and a residence for monks in the said island; in the thirty-eighth year after he had assumed the monastic dress at Mailros, although even from his childhood he had always lived like a monk, both in theory and practice.

The brethren placed the venerable body of the father in a ship, and conveyed it to the island of Lindisfarne, where it was received by a great multitude of people who met it, together with choirs of choristers; and it was deposited in a stone coffin, at the right side of the altar, in the church of the blessed Peter the Apostle. But after the man of God was buried, so violent was the storm of trial which shook that church, that many of the brethren chose rather to depart from the place than to encounter such perils; while the affairs of the see were for that year managed by the venerable bishop Wilfrid, until a successor for Cuthbert should be elected and ordained.

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[1] This circumstance, indicating the year 1105, is one of the chronological data which are of importance in deciding the period at which this work was written, and its author.

[2] That is, in § 65.

In the following year[1] Eadbert was ordained bishop, a man noted for his acquaintance with the divine Scriptures, and for his observance of the heavenly precepts, but more especially for works of alms-giving; so much so, that according to the law, he every year paid the tithe, not only of his fourfooted stock, but also of all his corn and fruit; and he also gave a part of his garments to the poor. And when he was elevated to the see the tempest of the disturbance, to which we have already alluded, was dispelled, just as is expressed by the Scripture, "The Lord doth build up Jerusalem" (that is, The vision of peace), "and gather together the outcasts of Israel; He healeth those that are broken in heart, and giveth medicine to heal their sickness." [Ps. cxlvii. 3.]

CHAP. XI.—HOW, AFTER HIS BODY HAD BEEN BURIED FOR ELEVEN YEARS, IT WAS FOUND UNCORRUPT; AND CONCERNING BISHOP EADBALD, AND ETHELWOLD, BOTH OF WHOM SUCCEEDED HIM IN HIS CELL; AND AT WHAT TIME BEDA WROTE HIS LIFE.

WHEN eleven[2] years had passed since the period of his death, the brethren opened his tomb, and found his corpse quite as fresh as if he had recently been buried. The limbs were flexible, and his whole appearance was more like that of a man who was asleep than of one dead: the vestments also in which he was clothed not only were entire, but they exhibited as marvellous a freshness and glossiness as they had done when they were new. Seeing this, the brethren were immediately struck with such great fear and trembling that they scarce dared to speak, scarce to look upon the miracle which was revealed to them, scarce did they know what to do. But removing a small portion of the garments, thirsting to give proof of their incorruption, (for they did not venture to touch those which were near his flesh,) they hurried away to make the bishop acquainted with the discovery. He gladly received the gifts, and joyfully heard their account of the miracle; and with devout affection did he kiss the garments, as if they were yet surrounding the body of the father. "Gird," he said, "his body with fresh wrappings in the stead of those which you have removed, and then replace him in the shrine which you have prepared; for I am perfectly aware that this place, which has been consecrated by so great a miracle from heaven, shall not long remain empty; and truly

[1] A.D. 688. [2] A.D. 698.

blessed is the man to whom the Lord, the Author and Giver of all blessedness, shall grant the privilege of resting therein." When the bishop had uttered such words as these, and more than these, accompanied by many tears, with great compunction, and with a trembling tongue, the brethren did as he commanded them; and having wrapped the body in new raiment and placed it in a new shrine, they deposited it, with the reverence to which it was entitled, upon the pavement of the sanctuary. But the brethren took a portion of his hair, that they might have something to give, as a relic, to such of his friends as asked for the same, or show in proof of the miracle.

Shortly after this the bishop beloved of God, Eadbert, was attacked with a sore disease, and the sharpness of the disorder gaining strength day by day, not long afterwards, that is to say, on the day before the nones of May [6th May[1]], he also departed to the Lord, having obtained from Him the gift for which he had been such an earnest suppliant; [namely, that he might leave the body, not snatched away by a sudden death, but after having been refined by a long sickness. When they placed his corpse in the tomb of the blessed father Cuthbert, they deposited it upon the top of the coffin in which they had enshrined the uncorrupted members of that father.

Beda, in pure and simple diction, narrates the history of this blessed Cuthbert—the commencement, the progress, and the end of his most glorious conversation—exactly as he had ascertained the particulars thereof from the indisputable testimony of those brethren who had lived along with him: for God's mercy had provided that one whose authority was so widely recognised throughout the whole catholic church should be the writer of the angelic life of an individual who resided in this remote corner of the world. It is satisfactory then, God so disposing it, that the bones of that writer who narrated for the satisfaction of future ages the pious labours undertaken for Christ's sake, and also the fact of incorruption of St. Cuthbert after he had been buried eleven years, should now, at length,[2] repose along with the bones of that deceased father. After the death of father Cuthbert, Wilfrid (as we have already mentioned[3]) held the episcopate of his church for a single year; for at this time he had recovered his see and episcopate by the invitation of king Aldfrid, who was at that time reigning after his brother Ecgfrid. The church was now ruled by these holy bishops, Eadbert for ten years, and after him Eadfrid for twenty-four, both of whom were men beloved of God. In the time of this Eadfrid, Beda, being then in the thirtieth year of his age, and having now received the rank of the priesthood, began to write his books, in the composition of which he laboured with unceasing diligence for twenty-nine years, that is, until the close of his life, meditating day and night in the law of the Lord. Among others, he wrote the book of the life of father Cuthbert, to which we have alluded so frequently, in which he thus addresses the said bishop:[1]—

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[1] A.D. 698; see Eccl. Hist. § 254.

[2] It will be remembered that the remains of St. Cuthbert and the venerable Beda were deposited in the church of Durham. For an account of the proceedings by which this was accomplished, see chap. xli.

[3] See the previous chapter

"To the holy lord and the most blessed father, bishop Eadfrid, and to all the congregation of the brethren who serve Christ in the island of Lindisfarne, your faithful fellow-servant Beda sendeth greeting. Since, brethren most beloved, it is your pleasure that I should prefix a preface, as is usual, to the book which I have composed at your request respecting the life of our father Cuthbert of blessed memory,"—the remainder of which letter you may see in the preface itself, as it is prefixed to that treatise. And as he is about to recount the benefits conferred by Cuthbert upon others, he first of all narrates a miracle wrought upon himself; how his tongue was healed while he was singing the praises of the saint, as he himself tells us in the letter[2] addressed to John the presbyter, which he prefixed to the metrical life of St. Cuthbert, of which he also is the author.

Thus the most reverend bishop Eadfrid, in the proving of his love for his predecessor, the blessed Cuthbert, restored from its foundations the oratory which that father had erected in the island in which he had lived a hermit's life, and which had now become ruinous from age, and which at this time was occupied by the anchorite Felgild, who therein had succeeded Aethelwold. This latter individual, after having spent many years in the monastery called In Hripum, and having adorned by his actions the office of the priesthood which he had received, succeeded that man of God, Cuthbert, in living the life of a recluse upon the island of Farne, where he continued twelve years, and in which he died; but he was buried in the island of Lindisfarne, near the bodies of the bishops whom we have mentioned, in the church of the blessed apostle Peter.

CHAP. XII.—CONCERNING BISHOP ETHELWOLD, AND THE CROSS OF STONE WHICH HE MADE.

UPON the death of bishop Eadfrid, that priest of religious life, Aethelwold, the abbot of the monastery of Melrose, succeeded his predecessors in the bishopric; and he held the see for sixteen years with honour to it and to himself. The life[3] of the blessed father Cuthbert tells us, that before this man attained to the government of this monastery as its abbot, he was the worthy attendant upon the saint. He it was who caused a stone cross of curious workmanship to be made, and directed that his own name should be engraven upon it, as a memorial of himself, the top of which was broken off by the pagans when they devastated the church of Lindisfarne at a later period; but it was afterwards reunited to the body of the cross by being run together with lead, and subsequently to this it was constantly carried about along with the body of St.

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[1] In the present series, i. 546.

[2] A translation of this letter will be found along with the other portions of Beda's correspondence.

[3] § 77.

Cuthbert, and honourably regarded by the people of Northumbria out of regard to these two holy men. And at the present day it stands erect in the cemetery of this church (that is, the church of Durham) and exhibits to all who look upon it a memorial of these two bishops, Cuthbert and Ethelwold.

CHAP. XIII.—CONCERNING THE FAMILY OF KING CEOLWULF, AND OF HIS LIFE AND PATIENCE.

IN the year of our Lord's incarnation seven hundred and twenty-nine, being the fifth of the pontificate of Aethelwold, Osric king of the Northumbrians, the son of king Aldfrid, departed from this life, having appointed as his successor Ceolwulf, the brother of king Coenred, who had filled the throne before himself. This Ceolwulf was, it is true, of the family of Ida the first king of the Northumbrians, but he did not trace his pedigree through his son king Aethelric, from whom those glorious kings Oswald and Oswin derived their descent. Ceolwulf's genealogy[1] sprang from a brother of Aethelric, named Ocga; for he was the son of Cutha, whose father was Cuthwine, whose father was Liodwald, whose father was Ecgwald, whose father was Aldhelm, whose father was Ocga, whose father was Ida. Ida had twelve sons, from whom descended the kings of the Northumbrians; their names were Addas, Ethelric, Theodric, Edric, Theudheri, Osmer, Alric, Ecga, Osbald, Scor, Sceotheri, and Ocga, from whom descended two brothers, Coenred and Ceolwulf, both of whom were kings.

The commencement and progress of the reign of this Ceolwulf were marked by a continued succession of misfortunes, but afterwards, when peace and tranquillity smiled upon him, many of the Northumbrians, as well nobles as private individuals, laid aside their arms, and having accepted the tonsure, gave the preference to a monastic life over that spent in warlike occupations. As we shall hereafter[2] state more fully, the king himself was one of these. He was devoted to liberal studies, and he is celebrated by Beda for his diligence in reading and hearing the holy Scriptures and the history of earlier ages. In the dedication to the history of the English nation, inscribed to that sovereign, occurs the following passage: "To the most illustrious king Ceolwulf, Beda, the servant of Christ, and presbyter, sends greeting. I formerly, at your request, had the greatest satisfaction in transmitting to you the Ecclesiastical History of the English nation, which I had lately published, in order that you might at that time read it and give it your approval; and now I send it to you, the second time, that you may cause it to be transcribed, and now read it more at your leisure. And I cannot but commend the sincerity and zeal with which you not only give diligent attention to the hearing of the words of holy Scripture, but also industriously take care how you may become acquainted with the actions and sayings of former men of renown, more especially those of our own nation."

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[1] See the Saxon Chron. A.D. 731, and Florence, p. 389.

[2] See chap. xvi.

CHAP. XIV.—AS TO THE PERIOD AT WHICH THE HOLY BEDA DIED, HOW HE LIVED, AND WHAT HE WROTE.

IN the year of our Lord's incarnation seven hundred and thirty-five, being the seventh year of the reign of king Ceolwulf, and the eleventh of the episcopate of Aethelwold, died that writer of holy books, the venerable priest and monk Beda, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. That lamp of the universal church now returned to the Father of lights; that rill of water springing up into eternal life was restored to God, the living Fountain. At this time one hundred and one years had elapsed from the period at which king Oswald and bishop Aidan had appointed, in the island of Lindisfarne, an episcopal see and a dwelling-place for the monks; it was sixty-two years from the building of the monastery of St. Peter the Apostle at Wearmouth, and forty-nine from the decease of father Cuthbert. During his lifetime this Beda lay hidden within a remote corner of the world, but after his death his writings gave him a living reputation over every portion of the globe. It might here be thought—so accurate are the details of his description of them—that he had personally visited the several countries respecting which he has written, and familiarised himself with their varied peculiarities; yet he spent the whole of his life within the monastery in which he was educated, from his infancy even to the day on which he was called away from this present life. In order to remove all hesitation as to our accuracy on this point, it has been thought expedient to introduce here his own description of himself. His words are these:

"I, Beda, the servant of Christ, and a presbyter of the monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which is at Wearmouth and Jarrow, was born within the territory of the same monastery. When I was seven years old, I was consigned by the care of my relatives to the most reverend abbot Benedict, in order that I might be educated by him, and afterwards by Ceolfrid; and from that period, spending all the remaining time of my life within that monastery, I devoted myself wholly to the study of the Scriptures; and amidst the observance of the discipline prescribed by our rule, and the daily duty of singing in the church, my constant delight was either in learning, or teaching, or writing. In the nineteenth year of my age I received deacon's orders; those of the priesthood in my thirtieth year; both of them were conferred through the ministry of the most reverend bishop John, and by order of the abbot Ceolfrid. From the period at which I received priest's orders until my fifty-ninth year, I have made it my business, for the use of me and mine, briefly to compile out of the works of the venerable fathers, and to interpret and explain, according to their meaning, (adding, however, somewhat of my own,) the following treatises:—

"On the Beginning of Genesis, as far as the Nativity of Isaac, and the Casting-out of Ishmael, four books.

"Of the Tabernacle and its Vessels, and of the Vestments of the Priests, three books.

"Of the First Part of Samuel, that is, to the Death of Saul, four books.

"Of the Building of the Temple, two books of Allegorical Exposition, like the rest.

"Also, on the Book of Kings, thirty Questions.

"Upon the Proverbs of Solomon, three books.

"Upon the Song of Songs, six books.

"Upon Ezra and Nehemiah, three books.

"Upon the Book of the blessed Father Tobias, one book of Allegorical Explanation concerning Christ and the church.

"Also Chapters of Lessons upon the Pentateuch of Moses, Joshua, and Judges.

"Upon the Books of Kings and Chronicles.

"Upon the Books of the blessed Father Job.

"Upon the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs.

"Upon the Prophet Isaiah, as also upon Ezra and Nehemiah.

"Four books upon the Gospel of St. Mark.

"Upon the Gospel of St. Luke, six books.

"Of Homilies upon the Gospel, two books. Upon the Apostle[1] .... I have carefully transcribed and reduced into order all the explanations which I have discovered throughout the treatises of St. Augustine.

"Two books upon the Acts of the Apostles.

"Upon each of the Seven Canonical Epistles, a separate book.

"Three books upon the Apocalypse of St. John.

"Also, Chapters of Lessons upon the whole of the New Testament, excepting the Gospel.

"Also a book of Epistles to different persons; of which one is concerning the Six Ages of the World; one concerning the Stations of the Children of Israel; one upon the Words of Isaiah, 'And they shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days they shall be visited;' one concerning the Reason of Leap Year; one about the Equinox, according to Anatolius.

"Also, of the Histories of the Saints, I have translated into prose, from the metrical work of Paulinus, the book concerning the Life and Passion of St. Felix the Confessor. The book of the Life and Passion of St. Anastasius, which had been badly translated from the Greek, and still worse corrected by some incompetent person, I have amended, as far as the sense is concerned, to the best of my ability. I have written the Life of the Holy Father Cuthbert, monk and bishop, first in heroic verse, and then in prose. The History of the Abbots of this Monastery, in which it is my joy to serve God's goodness, that is to say, Benedict, Ceolfrid, and Huetbert, I have written in two books.

"The Ecclesiastical History of our Island and Nation, in five books.

"A Martyrology concerning the Birth-days of the Saints, in which I have taken care diligently to record all whom I could discover; not only upon what day they overcame the world, but also what kind of death they suffered, and under what judge they were condemned.

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[1] That is, upon the apostle St. Paul.

"A Book of Hymns, in various kinds of metre, or rhyme.

"A Book of Epigrams, in heroic and elegiac verse.

"Of the Nature of Things, and of Times, of each one book.

"Also, of Times, one larger book.

"A book upon Orthography, alphabetically arranged.

"Also, a book upon the Art of Poetry, to which is appended a smaller treatise concerning Figures or Tropes; that is, concerning the figures and modes of speech employed in the Holy Scriptures."

After having finished these books by his continual application, he died at Jarrow, upon the seventh of the kalends of June [26th May], and there he was buried; but after many years had elapsed, his bones were translated from that place, and were deposited close by the uncorrupted body of the most holy father Cuthbert. In honour of this Beda a porch is consecrated in the northern side of the church of St. Paul, at Jarrow, and reminds the faithful of his venerable name. Even to the present day there is exhibited the place in which he had a little mansion of stone, in which it was his custom, apart from all that could disquiet, to sit, to reflect, to read, to dictate, and to write. He departed upon the very day of the festival of our Lord's Ascension; but we think it is best to narrate the circumstances of his death in the very words of Cuthbert, a disciple of his, who thus addresses a fellow pupil:—

CHAP. XV.—A LETTER CONCERNING THE DEATH OF BEDA, AND OF HIS MODE OF LIFE.

"To [1] Cuthwine, his most dearly beloved fellow-student in Christ, Cuthbert, his fellow-disciple, wishes eternal salvation in the Lord.

"The gift which you forwarded to me I received with the greatest pleasure, and most gladly did I read the letters which you sent in your devotion and learning, in which I found, (what, indeed, I chiefly desired,) that you would cause that holy masses and prayers should be diligently celebrated for our master Beda, that father beloved of God. Wherefore, out of my love for him, it is all the more gratifying for me to comply with your request, and to tell you briefly, but to the best of my ability, how he departed from this world, a subject upon which I understand that you are desirous of obtaining some information.

"He had been labouring under a severe attack of difficulty of breathing, unaccompanied, however, with any pain, for nearly two weeks before the day of our Lord's Resurrection,[2] and in this state he prolonged his life, cheerful, and rejoicing, and ascribing thanks to Almighty God day and night, nay, from hour to hour, until the day of our Lord's Ascension, which happened upon the seventh of the kalends of June [26th May]. He daily read with us, his disciples; he spent the remainder of the day in the singing of psalms, and he continued awake during the whole night in joy and thanksgiving, except when his watchfulness was interrupted by a moderate slumber. When he awoke he immediately returned to his usual occupations, and he ceased not to give thanks to God with outstretched hands. He was a truly blessed man! He repeated that passage of St. Paul the apostle, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God' [Heb. x. 31], and likewise many other texts of holy Scripture; and as he was skilled in our mode of versification, he gave utterance to some lines composed in our tongue, that is, in the language of the Angles. At this time, being in much compunction of heart, he composed the following lines in English:—

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[1] See the Preface to Beda, § 35.

[2] The festival of Easter fell, in 735, upon 17th April; the commencement of Beda's illness must therefore be referred to about April 3d.

> 'Before his constrained departure
> No man becometh
> Of thought more prudent
> Than is needful for him
> To consider
> Ere his journey from hence,
> What, to his spirit
> Of good or of evil,
> After his death-day,
> Shall be adjudicated.

"He also chanted anthems according to our use and his own, one of which is as follows:—'O King of Glory, God of might, Thou who didst this day ascend in triumph above all heavens, leave us not orphans, but send to us the promise of the Father, the Spirit of truth. Halleluiah!' And when he came to the words, 'Leave us not orphans,' he burst into tears, and wept much, and an hour afterwards he resumed what he had before commenced: and as we listened to what he said, we also wept; one while we read, another while we wept; nay, rather, our reading was always mingled with tears. In such joy as this we spent the fifty days until the arrival of the day which I have already mentioned; he all the while greatly rejoicing and giving God thanks for that He had thought him worthy of such suffering. He frequently recalled to mind and repeated the text, 'God scourgeth every son whom He receiveth,' [Heb. xii. 6,] and also many other passages of holy Scripture. He quoted also that saying of St. Ambrose, 'I have not so lived that I am ashamed to live longer amongst you; nor do I fear to die, because our God is merciful.'

"In addition to the lessons which we received from him, and the singing of psalms, there were two works which at this time he was particularly anxious to finish, and both of these were of considerable importance. He was translating into our tongue the Gospel of St. John, for the use of the church, and he was busy in making some selections from the book of the Rotæ of bishop Isidore. 'I am unwilling,' he said, 'that my scholars should read anything which is not true, and that they should labour unprofitably in this matter after my decease.' But when the third day[1] before our Lord's Ascension had arrived, his breathing became more laborious, and a trifling swelling appeared in his feet; but he spent the whole of that day in teaching and dictating with cheerfulness. Amongst his

[1] Tuesday, 24th May.

other observations he sometimes said, 'Learn quickly, for I know not how long I may abide, nor how speedily He who created me may remove me.' It appeared to us that he himself was well aware of his departure. Then he spent the night wakefully in the giving of thanks to God.

"When the morning dawned upon the fourth day of the week,[1] he commanded that we should diligently write that which we had commenced. Having done this until the third hour, we then walked in procession with the relics of the saints, as the custom of that day requires us to do. One of us, however, remained with him, who said to him, 'Still, dearest master, one chapter remains undone; would it be troublesome to you were I to ask a few more questions?' He replied, 'The task is an easy one; take your pen, prepare your ink, and write quickly.' And he did so. At the ninth hour he said to me, 'I have a few things of some value in my coffer; some spices, and stoles, and incense. Run quickly and summon the priests of our monastery to come to me, that I may distribute amongst them these presents, trifling ones indeed, but such as God has given to me. The rich ones of this world are anxious to give gold and silver, and other costly presents; but I, with much love and joy, will distribute amongst my brethren what God has given to me.' He addressed each of them separately, admonishing them, and entreating them that they should be diligent in celebrating masses and prayers for him; and this they readily promised that they would do.

"All mourned and wept, chiefly for this, that he told them that they should no longer see his face in this world; but they rejoiced when he said, 'It is time that I return to Him who made me, who created me, and who formed me out of nothing. I have lived a long life, and the merciful Judge has so provided for me that my life has been a happy one. The time of my release is at hand, for I long to depart that I may be with Christ.' And with many remarks of the same kind he passed the day joyfully until the evening. Then the boy, whom we have already mentioned, said, 'Dear master, there is still one more sentence which has not been written out.' He replied, 'Write it quickly.' After a little while the lad said, 'Now at last it is ended.' Beda answered, 'You have spoken the truth, for it is finished. Raise up my head in your hands, for it pleases me much to recline in such a position as that I may look upon that holy place of mine in which I used to pray, so that while resting there I may call upon God my Father.' And so, having been placed upon the pavement of his cell, he repeated, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;' and when he was naming the name of the Holy Spirit he breathed out his own spirit, and so departed to the kingdom of heaven.

"All those who witnessed the death of our blessed father affirm that they never saw any one depart from this life with so great devotion and calmness. For, as you have just heard, as long as the soul was in the body he continued to sing, 'Glory be to the

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[1] Wednesday, 25th May.

Father,' and other spiritual songs; and this he did with outstretched hands to the living and the true God. Be assured of this, dearest brother, that I could tell you many other things about him; but want of skill in expression enforces brevity in writing."

Chap. XVI.[1]—When and where King Ceolwulf became a Monk; and of the Gifts which he gave, and who it was who removed his Body to Norham.

In the third year[2] after Beda had fallen asleep in Christ, king Ceolwulf abandoned his kingdom and the cares of this life; and in voluntary poverty he became a follower of Him who had not where to lay his head, that with Him he might be made rich in glory. He was succeeded in the kingdom of Northumbria by Eadbert, his uncle's son. When he entered the monastery of Lindisfarne, he gave to St. Cuthbert his royal treasures and lands, that is to say, Bregesne[3] and Werceworde, with their appurtenances, together with the church which he had built there, and four other vills also, Wudecestre,[4] Hwitingham, Eadulfingham, and Eagwulfingham. Having received the tonsure in the said monastery, it was his delight to live a monastic life amongst the monks, and after having been a ruler upon earth to become a soldier for the kingdom of heaven. And here, after having gloriously finished his course, he died and was buried; but some time afterwards (as we shall have occasion to mention[5] presently) he was translated to Norham by Ecgfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne. At a much later period his head was removed to Durham, together with other relics of the saints, and was deposited with honour in the church of St. Cuthbert, whom he had always loved.

Chap. XVII.[6]—How one of the Royal Family fled for Protection to the Sanctuary of St. Cuthbert, and how he was removed from thence; and how Bishop Cynewulf was cast into Prison for him; and concerning the Death of St. Balther.

During the reign of Eadbert,[7] who (as we have already mentioned) succeeded Ceolwulf, the bishopric of the church of Lindisfarne was held by Cynewulf for some considerable[8] length of time, but under many annoyances and misfortunes. One of the royal family, named Offa, in order to escape from the persecutions of his enemies, fled to the body of St. Cuthbert, but having been forcibly dragged away from it, he was wickedly put to death. Hereupon, king Eadbert highly displeased laid hold upon bishop Cynewulf, and commanded him to be imprisoned in Bebbanburch, and in the meantime the bishopric of Lindisfarne was administered by Friothubert, bishop of Hexham, until the king becoming appeased, released Cynewulf from his confinement, and permitted him to return to his church. On the day before the nones of March [6th March],[1] in the seventeenth year of the episcopate of this bishop, and in the twentieth year of the reign of Eadbert, that man of the Lord, the priest Balthere, who had been living the life of a recluse at Tiningaham, entered upon the path of the holy fathers, and departed to Him who had created him anew, even to the image of his Son.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. i.

[2] A.D. 737.

[3] Perhaps Brainshaugh, near Warkworth, which was also a gift of Ceolwulf.

[4] Woodchester, Whittingham, Edlingham, and Eglingham, all in Northumberland. The church of Durham retains the presentation to some of these churches to the present time.

[5] See chap. xx.

[6] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. ii.

[7] His reign extended from A.D. 737 to 758.

[8] From A.D. 740 to 780.

Chap. XVIII.[2]—Concerning the Forethought and Conversion of King Eadbert, about the Episcopate of his Brother, and his own Decease.

At this point I interrupt the progress of my history of the bishops, since it appears fitting that I should make a few brief remarks upon king Eadbert. He was the son of Eata, the uncle of king Ceolwulf, as I have already stated,[3] who when he had mounted the throne gave proof that he was fully competent to fill it, and to retain it with energy and success. When at length he had either reduced to subjection or overcome in battle all who opposed him, not only did all the neighbouring kings of the Angles, Picts, Britons, and Scots keep peace with him, but were happy in showing him marks of deference. So wide did the reputation of his good deeds extend, that they reached even to Pepin the king of the Franks, who, in consequence, entered into a friendly correspondence with him, and sent him many different kinds of royal gifts. In the twenty-first year of his reign, whilst he was flourishing in peace and dignity, beloved and favoured by all, he surrendered his kingdom to his son, named Osulf, and subjected himself to the service of Almighty God as a clerk, notwithstanding that the kings of the Angles had previously urged him with much importunity not to take this step, and were willing even to have resigned to him a part of their kingdoms as an addition to his own, provided he would consent to retain his position in his own realm. But he preferred the service of God to all riches and sovereignty, and in that service he continued for ten years, even to the end of his life,[4] when he was buried at York, in the same porch as his brother Ecgbert, who had died three years before himself.[5] This Ecgbert whilst a child had been placed in the monastery under father Eata, and when he was grown up he went to Rome along with his brother Egred, where he received the rank of the diaconate, and returned home upon the death of his brother. During the reign of Ceolwulf, and at his request, he was confirmed as archbishop of the nation of the Northumbrians, being the first after Paulinus who received the pall from the apostolic see; and this dignity he occupied for thirty-two years.

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[1] A.D. 756. See Simeon's History of the Kings, under this date; and the Acta SS. mens. Martii, i. 448.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. iii.

[3] See chap. xvi.

[4] He died upon 20th Aug. 768.

[5] That is, upon 19th Nov. 766.

Chap. XIX.[1]—Concerning the Slaughter of King Osulf; and as to the Period at which Bishop Cwynewulf resigned his Bishopric to Higbald, and died; and how and where King Elwold was slain.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation seven hundred and sixty, (being the twenty-first year of the episcopate of Cynewulf,) Osulf was wickedly slain by his own domestics, after he had reigned a single year; and he was succeeded by Aethelwold Mol. When he had reigned for six years, Alchred, of the family of Ethric, the son of king Ida, succeeded to the throne; and, in the ninth year of his reign, the treachery of his nobility compelled him to exchange his realm for exile, and in his stead Aethelred the son of Aethelwold was forthwith appointed king. He was driven into banishment in the fourth year of his reign, whereupon Aelfwold the son of Osulf obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and held it for ten years. In the third year of his rule (being the year seven hundred and eighty from our Lord's incarnation,) Cynewulf—whom we have already mentioned—being then in the fortieth year of his episcopate, and worn out with old age and labour, delegated his authority in the government of the church, with the consent of the whole congregation, to Higbald, an energetic personage; and being thus liberated from such cares, he spent the following three years in quiet and prayer. He departed to the Lord in the fourth year[2] of his seclusion, whereupon Higbald ascended the episcopal seat, and ruled it for twenty years. In the sixth year of his pontificate, the aforesaid king Aelfwold was miserably murdered by his duke Sicga, at a place near the vill called Scytlescester, and was buried in the church of Hexham. As he had been a man of exceeding devotion and justice, a light sent down from heaven frequently appeared to many persons at the place where he had been slain. He was succeeded by his nephew Osred, the son of the late king Alchred; but at the end of a year he was expelled from the realm, and took refuge in the isle of Eufonia (that is, the Isle of Man); and then Aethelred, having been recalled from his exile, regained the kingdom which he had previously lost.

Chap. XX.[3]—Concerning the Destruction of the Church of Lindisfarne, and how speedily it was revenged; and about Bishops Higbald, Egbert, and Egred, and the Lands which they acquired.

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord seven hundred and ninety-three, (being the one hundred and seventh year from the death of father Cuthbert, and the eleventh of the pontificate of Higbald, and the fifth of the reign of that most wicked king Aethelred,) the church of Lindisfarne was miserably filled with devastation, blood, and rapine, and all but entirely and thoroughly ruined. But before we speak of this destruction, let us make a few extracts from earlier writers descriptive of this locality. The following passage occurs:—"The island of Lindisfarne is eight miles in circumference, in which is a noble monastery, the resting place of the bodies of that excellent bishop Cuthbert, and others, his most worthy successors in the episcopate, of whom it may well be said in the words of the anthem, 'Their bodies are buried in peace, and their names shall live for ever.'[1] It takes its name of Lindisfarne from a stream about two feet broad called the Lindis, which here falls into the sea, and which is not perceptible except at low water." So much, then, as to the island itself. Its approaching destruction, and that of other holy places, was presaged by the appearance of fearful thunders and fiery dragons flying through the sky. Presently after this, and in the same year, a fleet of the pagans arrived in Britain from the north; and rushing hither and thither, and plundering as they went, they slew not only the cattle, but even the priests and deacons, and the choirs of monks and nuns. On the seventh of the ides of June [7th June],[2] they reached the church of Lindisfarne, and there they miserably ravaged and pillaged everything; they trod the holy things under their polluted feet, they dug down the altars, and plundered all the treasures of the church. Some of the brethren they slew, some they carried off with them in chains, the greater number they stripped naked, insulted, and cast out of doors, and some they drowned in the sea. Yet this was not unavenged; for God speedily judged them for the injuries which they had inflicted upon St. Cuthbert. In the following year, when they were plundering the port of king Ecgfrid, that is, Jarrow, and the monastery which is situated at the mouth of the river Don,[3] their leader was put to a cruel death; and shortly afterwards their ships were shattered and destroyed by a furious tempest; some of themselves were drowned in the sea, while such of them as succeeded in reaching the land alive speedily perished by the swords of the inhabitants. Although the church of Lindisfarne had been thus ravaged and despoiled of its ecclesiastical ornaments, the episcopal see still continued therein; and as many of the monks as had succeeded in escaping from the hands of the barbarians still continued for a long time to reside near the body of the blessed Cuthbert.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. iv.

[2] The Saxon Chronicle says that he died A.D. 782.

[3] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. v.

In the eleventh year from the pillaging of this church died Higbald,[4] upon the eighth of the kalends of June [25th May], after having completed twenty-two years in its episcopate; and in his stead Egbert[5] was elected, and upon the third of the ides of June [11th June] he was consecrated at a place called Bigwell,[6] by archbishop Eanbald, and by bishops Eanbert and Badulf, and others,[7] who met there for his ordination. This occurred in the seventh year of the reign of Eardulf, the son of Earulf, who had succeeded to the throne upon the slaughter of king Aethelred. But in the tenth year of his reign he was expelled from the province, and Aelfwold held it for two years; and afterwards it was under the sway of Eanred, the son of king Eardulf, for thirty-three years. When Ecgbert had spent eighteen years[1] in the episcopate, he died, and was succeeded by Heathured, who spent nine years in the exercise of that authority. After him, Ecgred was elevated to the dignity of the episcopate, in the twenty-second year of the reign of king Eanred; he was a man of noble birth, and energetic in his proceedings, taking care to enrich and honour (more than his predecessors had done) the church of St. Cuthbert with donations of goods and property. For he built a church at Norham, and dedicated it in honour of St. Peter the apostle, and Cuthbert the bishop, and also of Ceolwulf, formerly a king, but afterwards a monk; and he translated thither the body of that same God-beloved Ceolwulf; he also gave to the holy confessor Cuthbert that same vill and two others of the same name, which he had established at Geddeworde,[2] with their appurtenances; as also the church and the vill which he had built at the place called Geinforde,[3] and whatever belongs thereto from the river Tees to the Wear. To these he added, as a further donation to the same confessor, to be held for ever, two other vills, namely, Ileclif and Wigeclif,[4] as also Billingham in Heorternesse,[5] of which he had been the founder. He died in the sixteenth year[6] of his episcopate, which was the fifth year of the reign of Aethelred, who succeeded his father Eanred; Eanbert, who was elected as his successor, governed the church for eight years.

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[1] Ecclus. xliv. 14.

[2] See Simeon's History of the Kings, A. D. 793.

[3] See p. 458, note [1].

[4] He died 25th May, 802; see Florence. But the Saxon Chronicle ascribes his death to 24th June, 803; on which date, see p. 37, note [4].

[5] If Ecgbert was elected and consecrated upon the same day, 11th June,—which, however, is not here stated by Simeon,—then that event probably took place in A. D. 803, in which year, 11th of June was Trinity Sunday.

[6] Bywell, upon the Tyne.

[7] They were the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Hexham and Whithern.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and fifty-four (being the fifth year of the rule of Osbert, the successor of Aethelred, who had been put to death), the government of the episcopal chair was undertaken by Eardulf, a man of great merit; nor did he bestow less pastoral solicitude upon the remoter portions of his diocese than upon the more contiguous district of Lindisfarne. Luel, which is now called Carlisle,[7] was one of these; not only had it belonged to the jurisdiction of St. Cuthbert, but from the time of king Ecgfrid it had constantly formed a portion of the district over which he exercised episcopal jurisdiction[8] .... None of his predecessors or successors even to the present time, endured such labours in the company of the blessed body of Cuthbert; for during seven years he accompanied it from place to place, fleeing from the savage attacks of the barbarians, whose swords were always ready to slay them; and (as we shall have occasion to describe presently) the bishop with unalterable love always kept close by the saint, while on every side monasteries were being burnt down, the country plundered, and the inhabitants slaughtered.

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[1] For this date, see Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 287.

[2] Jedborough, in Teviotdale.

[3] Gainford, in the county of Durham.

[4] Probably Cliffe and Wyclif, in York, but near the river Wear.

[5] A district in the county of Durham, of which the chief town is Hartlepool.

[6] A.D. 850.

[7] And so it continued until the formation of the diocese of Carlisle by Henry I., April 11th, A.D. 1132. See Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 229.

[8] An erasure equivalent to seventeen lines here occurs in the original MS.

Chap. XXI.[1]—How the Danes, for the second time, ravaged the Church of Lindisfarne, and all Northumbria; and as to the Time when, and the Cause why, Bishop Eardulf removed the Body of St. Cuthbert from the Island; and as to the Service which the Clerks afterwards rendered.

At this period there was a large assembly of the people from all quarters, that is to say, of the Danes and Frisians, and other pagan nations, who arrived here in an immense fleet, under their kings and dukes, Halfdene, Inguar, Hubba, Beicgsecg, Guthrun, Oscytell, Amund, Sidroc and another duke of the same name, Osbern, Frana, and Harold. On their arrival in England they took possession of it, and wandered over the whole of it, carrying with them plunder and slaughter wherever they went. After having subdued and destroyed nearly the whole of the southern provinces of England, they next attacked the region of the Northumbrians. In the year from the incarnation of our Lord eight hundred and sixty-seven (being the fourteenth of the episcopate of Eardulf, and the fifth of the reign of Aella, king of the Northumbrians, whom they had placed upon the throne after they had expelled Osbert), the said army of the pagans, after having taken York, upon the kalends of November [1st Nov.], spread themselves over the whole country, and filled all with blood and grief; they destroyed the churches and the monasteries far and wide with fire and sword, leaving nothing remaining save the bare unroofed walls; and so thoroughly did they do their work, that even our own present generation can seldom discover in those places any conclusive memorial of their ancient dignity, sometimes none. Upon this occasion, however, the barbarians advanced no further north than the mouth of the river Tyne, but returned from thence to York. Urged by this their necessity, the people of the Northumbrians collected a great army; their kings, Osbert and Ella, were reconciled with each other; and they made the attempt, to the best of their ability, to weaken the forces of their enemy. Headed by two kings and eight earls, they assaulted York, upon the twelfth of the kalends of April [21st March], which they stormed with considerable pertinacity, some from within, some from without. The enemy were somewhat alarmed by their sudden arrival, but they speedily offered a firm resistance, and the conflict was waged on both sides with much fierceness. It ended, however, in the death of the two kings, who fell along with the larger portion of their followers; and thus they were deprived at once of life and kingdom, and so paid the penalty for the injuries which they had previously inflicted upon the church of St. Cuthbert: for Osbert had dared with sacrilegious hand to wrest from that church Wercewurde and Tillemuthe, and Aella had done the like for Billingham, Ileclif, and Wigeclif, and Crece.

Upon the death of these two persons, the Danes appointed Ecgbert as king over such of the Northumbrians as survived, limiting his jurisdiction to those only who resided upon the north of the river Tyne. Having done this, their army advanced from York upon the kingdom of Mercia; but upon their return a few years afterwards, York once more experienced their accustomed cruelty. Departing from thence in the following year, under the command of Inguar (who was the most cruel of all their dukes), their army invaded East Anglia, and first cruelly tormented and then killed the most holy king Eadmund, along with his bishop Hunbert. In the meantime the Northumbrians had expelled out of the province their king Ecgbert and archbishop Wulfhere; and had appointed as their king a person named Ricsig. Not long after this, Halfdene, the king of the Danes, took with him from Rheoppandune, where he at that time was residing, a very large portion of his army; and entering the Tyne with a considerable fleet, he landed at Tomemuthe, where he meant to spend the winter; purposing in the spring to pillage the whole of the district lying towards the north of that river, which hitherto had enjoyed peace.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. vi.

Having heard of this arrival, bishop Eardulf, (whom we have already mentioned,) apprehensive that the entire destruction of the church of Lindisfarne and of the whole diocese was at hand, deliberated as to the means of escaping along with his followers; but he was uncertain what he should do with respect to the most holy body of father Cuthbert. For it went against his heart that he should ever be parted from that treasure, whether he were resident in the church or driven from it. Having summoned Eadred, a man of approved sanctity, who was surnamed Lulisc, from the circumstance of having been educated in the monastery founded a long time previously by Cuthbert himself in Luel, of which he had now become the abbot,—they deliberated what course it would be most expedient for them to pursue; and, whilst they were so occupied, they bethought themselves of the last words bequeathed to them by the father Cuthbert as he was departing from this life, and so they resolved to abandon the place rather than to yield themselves up as a sacrifice to the barbarians. For, amongst his other admonitions, he had in his parental solicitude given them this advice: [1] "If it should happen that you must decide one of these two things, it would be much more pleasing to me that you should take my bones up from the tomb, and remove them from this spot, and should continue to reside wherever God shall provide an abode for you, rather than that you should tamely submit to evil and bow your necks to the yoke of schismatics." These words when they read them seemed to be prophetically uttered by father Cuthbert in anticipation of their present circumstances; and they saw in them a command applicable to themselves. Raising, then, the holy and uncorrupt body of the father, they placed beside it in the same shrine (as we find it mentioned in old books) the relics of the saints; that is to say, the head of Oswald the king and martyr, beloved of God, which had formerly been buried in the cemetery of the same church, and a part of the bones of St. Aidan, for, as we have already remarked, Colman,[2] on his return to Scotland, had taken with him the other portion of them, together with the venerable bones of those revered bishops, the successors of the same father Cuthbert, (that is to say, of Eadbert, Eadfrid, and Aethelwold,) whom we have formerly mentioned. Having collected these relics, they fled before the barbarians, and abandoned that noble pile, the mother church of the nation of the Bernicians, which had been the residence of so many saints. This occurred in the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and seventy-five, being two hundred and forty-one years since the time when king Oswald and bishop Aidan had founded that church, and had placed therein a bishop's see and a congregation of monks; and one hundred and eighty-nine years after the death of father Cuthbert, and in the twenty-second year of the episcopate of Eardulf. This was the eighty-third year since this church had been devastated under bishop Higbald, as we have already mentioned,[1] by the pirates, and all the monks had been put to death, some in one way, some in another, with the exception of the few who had contrived to escape.

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[1] See this series, i. 595, § 65.

[2] See chap. v.

Upon the approach of the tempest of which we have been speaking, all the inmates withdrew; but such of their number as had been brought up and educated from their infancy in the clerical habit followed the body of the holy father wherever it was carried; and unceasingly observed the custom of performing the offices of daily and nightly praise, as they had learned from the monks by whom they had been instructed. Hence it was that the whole body of those who succeeded them observed the usage of singing the hours according to the rule of the monks rather than those of the clerks, following herein the tradition of their predecessors, as indeed we ourselves have oftentimes heard them doing; and as even at the present time some of those persons who are descended from them have reported in our presence. Nor, indeed, was there any laxity upon the part of these monks in their devotion and respect towards the body of this father Cuthbert, who was monk as well as bishop, until the days of this same bishop Walcher. The body was unceasingly attended by bishop Eardulf, who, like his predecessors, was also a monk, and by Eadred, monk and abbot, as long as they lived; and, after these persons, the bishops who succeeded, until the period of bishop Walcher (already so frequently mentioned), were accompanied by two or three monks.

Thus, then, no sooner had the bishop abandoned the island and its church, carrying away with him the relics which we have specified, than a fearful storm swept over that place, and indeed over the whole province of the Northumbrians, for it was cruelly ravaged far and wide by the army of the Danes, under the guidance of king Halfdene. Everywhere did he burn down the monasteries and the churches; he slew the servants and the handmaidens of God, after having exposed them to many indignities; and, in one word, fire and sword were carried from the eastern sea to the western. Whence it was that the bishop and they who with him accompanied the holy body, nowhere found any place of repose, but going forwards and backwards, hither and thither, they fled from before the face of these cruel barbarians.

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[1] See chap. xx.

CHAP. XXII.[1]—WHY IT IS THAT WOMEN MAY NOT ENTER THE CHURCH OF ST. CUTHBERT; AND CONCERNING THE EXCESSES OF THE NUNS WHO FORMERLY RESIDED AT COLDINGHAM.

IT is a well-known fact, that into scarce one of the churches which the blessed confessor illustrated with the presence of his body,—either at an earlier period or at the present time, either during the time of his flight or after, even to this present day,—has permission to enter been granted to a woman. How this custom originated, we will now show, interrupting hereby for a little space the sequence of our narrative.

During the period of his episcopate, the monastery of Coldingham[2] was consumed by a fire, which, though happening accidentally, yet was admitted by all who were acquainted with the circumstances to have had its foundation in the wickedness of the inmates. In this place resided congregations of monks as well as nuns, which, however, were separated from each other, and resided in distinct dwellings; but they grew lax, and receded from their primitive discipline, and, by their improper familiarity with each other, afforded to the enemy an opportunity of attacking them. For they changed into resorts for feasting, drinking, conversation, and other improprieties, those very residences which had been erected as places to be dedicated to prayer and study. The virgins also, who had been dedicated to God, despising the sanctity of their profession, devoted themselves to the sewing of robes of the finest workmanship, in which they either adorned themselves like brides, thereby endangering their own estate of life and profession, or they gave them to men who were strangers, for the purpose of thereby securing their friendship. It was no wonder, then, that a heavy punishment from heaven consigned this place and its inhabitants to the devouring flames. The blow, however, did not overtake them without having been preceded by a warning sent by God's mercy; and by it they were for a short time induced to abandon their evil deeds, and to chastise themselves. But, after the death of the religious abbess Ebba, they returned to their former pollutions, or rather they did worse than hitherto; and while they were saying, "Peace, peace," the heavy wrath of God came upon them. Not long after this, Cuthbert, that man of God, being elevated to the episcopal throne, careful that an example of this sort should no longer provoke the anger of God against themselves or their successors, entirely secluded them from the society of women, apprehensive that the incautious use of that familiarity should endanger the purpose which they had in hand, and their ruin should afford the enemy cause for rejoicing. Men and women alike assented to the arrangement, by means of which they were mutually excluded from each other's society, not only for the present, but for all future time; and thus the entry of a woman into the church became a matter which was entirely forbidden. Wherefore he caused a church to be erected in the island on which was his episcopal see, and this the inhabitants called "Grene Cyrice," that is, The green church, because it was situated upon a green plain; and he directed that the women who wished to hear masses and the word of God should assemble there, and that they should never approach the church frequented by himself and his monks. This custôm is so diligently observed, even unto the present day, that it is unlawful for women to set foot even within the cemeteries of those churches in which his body obtained a temporary resting-place, unless, indeed, compelled to do so by the approach of an enemy or the dread of fire.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. vii.

[2] See Eccl. Hist. § 335.

Chap. XXIII.[1]—About a Woman who entered the Church of St. Cuthbert, and how speedily Punishment overtook her.

There have been women, however, who in their boldness have ventured to infringe these decrees; but the punishment which has speedily overtaken them, gave proof of the magnitude of their crime. One of these, named Sungeova, the wife of the son of Bevo, who was named Gamel, as she was one night returning home from an entertainment, was continually complaining to her husband that there was no clean piece of the road to be found, in consequence of the deep puddles with which it was everywhere studded. So at last they determined that they would go through the churchyard of this church, (that is, of Durham,) and that they would afterwards make an atonement for this sin by almsgiving. As they were going on together, she was seized with some kind of indefinite horror, and cried out that she was gradually losing her senses. Her husband chid her, and urged her to come on, and not to be afraid; but as soon as she set foot outside the hedge which surrounds the cemetery of the church, she immediately fell down; and being carried home, she that very night ended her life.

Chap. XXIV.[2]—About another Woman who ran through the Cemetery, and how she died by her own hand.

Here follows another narrative of the same kind. A certain rich man—who afterwards resided amongst us in this church, wearing the dress of a monk,—had a wife; and she, having heard many persons talk of the beauty of the ornaments of the church, was inflamed, woman-like, with the desire of seeing these novelties. Unable to bridle her impetuous desires, for the power of her husband had elevated her above her neighbours, she walked through the cemetery of the church. But she did not go unpunished; for presently she was deprived of her reason,—she bit out her own tongue; and in her madness she ended her life by cutting her throat with her own hand. For, as it was no easy matter to keep her at home, she wandered from place to place; and one day she was found lying dead under a tree, her throat all bloody, and holding in her hand the knife with which she had committed suicide.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. viii.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. ix.

Many other instances might easily be added to these, showing how the audacity of women was punished from heaven; but let these suffice, since we must proceed to other matters.

CHAP. XXV.[1]—CONCERNING THE RAVAGES OF THE DANES; AND ABOUT THE SEVEN BEARERS OF ST. CUTHBERT; AND OF THE VISION OF KING ELFRED.

AFTER this episode, we may now return to the series of our narrative, resuming it at the point at which it was interrupted.

Whilst these pagans were for many years occupying the province of Northumbria, and had settled down in it, its Christian inhabitants, with their children and wives, accompanied the sacred body of St. Cuthbert, esteeming the preservation of that single body an equivalent for the loss of all else,—country, houses, property,—so long as they were permitted to retain it with them. They wandered throughout the whole of the districts of Northumbria, having no settled dwelling-place; and they were like sheep fleeing from before the wolves, placing their entire dependence upon the guidance and protection of their shepherd. Yet it was not permitted to every one indiscriminately to touch the shrine in which the sacred body was deposited; no, not even the vehicle upon which it was carried. Observing the reverence due to such sanctity, out of the whole number seven were specially selected for this purpose; so that, if any matter should require care or repair, no one but these persons should presume to lay their hands upon it. Hence each of them received a surname derived from the nature of the office to which they were collectively appointed.

In the meantime, Aelfred, the king of the West Saxons, unable any longer to bear up against the overpowering forces of the enemy, lay in hiding for nearly three years within the marshes of Glastonbury. It is unnecessary here to repeat—for it is fully recorded elsewhere—how St. Cuthbert appeared to him in a manifest vision, and how, by the assistance of his merits, the king defeated his enemies, and regained possession of his kingdom. Yet this much may be briefly recorded, that, among other of his admonitions and promises, he gave him the assurance that he and his sons should possess the kingdom of Britain. His words were these: "I especially exhort you to observe mercy and justice, and always to teach your sons to regard the same above everything besides; since, by God's gift, through my intercession, the rule of the whole of Britain shall be placed at your disposal. If you are faithful to God and to me, I shall become to you an impenetrable shield, by means of which you shall be enabled to crush all the power of your enemies." So, then, on the morrow, as the saint had promised, nearly five hundred of the king's best friends came to him, about the hour of noon, well armed; seven days after which, the army of the Angles assembled at Assandune, where Aelfred gained the victory over his enemies, and sent royal gifts to St. Cuthbert, by his son Edward. This Aelfred, and his sons after him, being faithful to God and to this holy confessor, performed his directions, and experienced the accomplishment of his promises, in the extension of their kingdom beyond the limits to which it had reached in the times of their ancestors. This was chiefly perceptible in the case of Aethelstan, the grandson of this Aelfred, who was the first of all the kings of the Angles who reduced all his enemies, and obtained the sway of the whole of Britain. How great was the munificence of this individual towards St. Cuthbert and his church, we shall mention in its own proper place hereafter.[1]

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. x.

CHAP. XXVI.[2]—HOW THE BODY OF ST. CUTHBERT, WHEN IT WAS ABOUT TO BE CARRIED INTO IRELAND, WAS BROUGHT BACK AGAIN BY REASON OF A TEMPEST.

LET us now return to our former subject. Bishop Eardulf and abbot Eadred, after having wandered over nearly the whole of the province, with the treasure of the holy body, were at last worn out with the fatigue of their daily labour, and began to discuss the expediency of terminating their exertions, and providing a safe refuge for the holy body, by transporting it to Ireland, the more especially as now there appeared scarce the shadow of a hope that they would be able to continue in this country. Summoning, therefore, all those persons who were of approved wisdom and mature age, they opened to them their secret intentions. The project met with their approbation, and they said: "We are clearly admonished to seek for a place of rest in a foreign land; for unless this were the will of God and his saint, doubtless there would long since have been provided for his holy one a place worthy his abode and one convenient for our residence." So then they all of them, bishop, abbot and people, assembled at the mouth of the river which is called Derwent. A ship was there prepared for their transit, in which was placed the venerable body of the father; the bishop and the abbot, and the few to whom their resolution had been made known, embarked, while all the others were kept in ignorance of their intentions. There is no need for many words. They bade farewell to their friends who were standing on the shore, —they hoisted the sails so as to catch the prosperous gale, and the ship speeds on her onward course towards Ireland. How can I describe the grief of those who were left behind at this time? "Miserable men that we are," said they; "why have we fallen upon such days of sorrow? Thou, our father and patron, art like one carried away captive into exile: we, like miserable and imprisoned sheep, are consigned to the teeth of ravening wolves." They had no time to say more; for the winds changed, and the angry waves rose up; the sea, which till then had been calm, became tempestuous; and the vessel, now unmanageable, was tossed hither and thither by the stormy billows. They who were on board became like dead men. Three waves of astounding size struck the vessel, and filled it nearly half full with water; and by a terrible miracle, unknown even amongst the plagues of Egypt, the water was immediately changed into blood. During this tempest the ship heeled over on one side, and the copy of the gospels, adorned with gold figures, fell overboard, and sank to the bottom of the sea.[1] After they had somewhat recovered their senses, and remembered who they were and where they were, they fell upon their knees, and, prostrating themselves at the feet of the holy body, they ask pardon for their foolish enterprise. They put the helm about, and steered the vessel back to the shore and their companions, whom they reached without difficulty; for they were speedily carried thither by the wind, which had now become prosperous. Those who had recently wept for grief, now shed tears of joy. The bishop and his companions, stricken with mingled shame and grief, threw themselves upon the ground at their full length, and with tears earnestly besought that their crime might be forgiven.

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[1] See chap. xxxiii.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. xi.

Chap. XXVII.[2]—How those Persons who carried the holy Body were worn out with their daily Labour, and what their Names were; and how St. Cuthbert told them where they should find a Horse, a Bridle, and a Cart; and how they recovered the Copy of the Gospels, which had continued uninjured for three days in the Sea.

At this time the people, exhausted by the long continuance of the labour, and constrained by hunger and the want of every necessary, gradually ceased their attendance upon the holy body, and scattered themselves over these deserted localities, in order that, by some means or other, they might preserve their lives. Indeed, they all went away, with the exception of the bishop, the abbot, and a very few others, exclusive of those seven who (as we have already said) were privileged to bestow more close and constant attendance upon the holy body. It has been remarked on a previous occasion,[3] that these persons had been reared and educated by those of the monks who had conveyed the body of the holy confessor from the island of Lindisfarne, and had resolved that as long as they lived they would never abandon it. Four of them, named Hunred, Stitheard, Edmund, and Franco, were of greater repute than the other three; and it is the boast of many persons in the province of the Northumbrians, as well clerks as laymen, that they are descended from one of these families; for they pride themselves upon the faithful service which their ancestors rendered to St. Cuthbert. So when the others dropped off, these persons alone continued with this great treasure; and as all things seemed against them, they underwent many hardships; nor could they devise any plan by which they might extricate themselves, or lighten the pressure of these calamities. "What are we to do?" said they; "where shall we carry the relics of our fathers? Fleeing from the barbarians, we have now for seven years wandered up and down the whole province: now there is left for us no place of escape in the country; and we are forbidden by the punishment which we have already endured from venturing once more to seek rest in a foreign country. In addition to all this, a severe famine compels us to look for support wherever we can hope to find it; but the sword of the Danes, which is everywhere impending over our heads, prevents us from journeying in company with this treasure of ours. And if we abandon it, and make provision for ourselves only, what answer shall we hereafter make to the people, who will doubtless inquire what has become of their pastor and patron? Shall we say that we have lost it by theft or violence? Shall we tell them that it has been removed to a foreign country, or that we have left it in some unfrequented place? We should assuredly die without delay by their hands, and that deservedly; our memory would be held as infamous by all future ages, and we should earn to ourselves the curses of all men."

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[1] This MS., one of the most precious monuments of Saxon penmanship which have been preserved to our times, is now in the course of publication by the Surtees Society, the Gospel according to St. Matthew having already appeared. See Beda, p. 546, note [1].

[2] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. xii.

[3] See chap. xxv.

Whilst they were giving utterance to these complaints in their distress, the wonted assistance of their affectionate patron did not desert them, but he mitigated at once their mental anxieties and their bodily labours, for the Lord is a refuge to the poor, and a helper in the due time of trouble. He appeared in a vision to one of them named Hunred, and commanded them to make search for the book which (as we have mentioned above) had fallen from the vessel into the depths of the sea; telling him that it was possible that, by God's mercy, they might be enabled to recover that which they thought was gone beyond recovery. The loss of this volume had indeed plunged them in the deepest distress. And he proceeded yet further, adding these words:—"Rise up quickly, and let the horse, which you will notice at no great distance from this place, see a bridle which you will find hanging upon a tree; he will then immediately come to you; do you put the bridle upon him, and yoke him to the carriage upon which my body is placed, and thus you will lighten your own labour." Having heard thus much he awoke, and forthwith he recounted the vision which he had seen, and he lost no time in despatching some of his companions to the sea, which was close at hand, that they might search for the lost book. At this time they were in the neighbourhood of Candida Casa, more commonly known by the name of Hwitern [Whitherne]. When these men reached the shore, the sea had receded much further back than usual, and going out three miles or more they discovered the volume of the holy gospels, which had lost none of the external brilliancy of its gems and gold, nor any of the internal beauty of its illuminations, and the fairness of its leaves, but appeared just as if it had never come into any contact whatever with the water. This circumstance refreshed their hearts with much joy, and left them no room to doubt as to the issue of the other points upon which Hunred had been informed. Exactly as the dream had told him, he saw the bridle hanging from the tree, and, looking around, he discovered a bay horse at no great distance, although he was quite unable to divine how it had found its way into that place of solitude. As he had been directed, he held the bridle aloft, and showed it to the horse, which immediately came to him, and permitted itself to be bridled. He led it to his companions, and from this time they all the more joyfully laboured for the body of the father Cuthbert, then present with them, since they had this undoubted evidence that his assistance would never be withdrawn from them in their hour of need. So, putting the horse to the vehicle which carried the shrine in which that heavenly treasure was deposited, they all the more safely followed him wherever he went, since God had provided them with a horse for his conveyance. Moreover, the book which we have mentioned is preserved even to this present day in the church which is privileged to possess the body of this holy father; and, as has already been remarked, it exhibits no trace of having sustained injury from the water. There is no doubt that this is to be ascribed to the merits of St. Cuthbert himself, and of those other individuals who were employed in its production; that is to say, bishop Eadfrid of holy memory, who wrote it with his own hand in the house of the blessed Cuthbert; and his successor the venerable Aethelwold, who directed that it should be adorned with gold and gems; and the holy anchorite Bilfrid, whose skilful hand carried out the wishes of Aethelwold, and executed this beautiful piece of workmanship, for he was a master in the art of the goldsmith. These persons, influenced alike by their affection for this confessor and bishop beloved of God, left in this work a monument to all future ages of their devotion towards him.

CHAP. XXVIII.[1]—HOW GUTHRED BECAME KING BY THE COMMAND OF ST. CUTHBERT, AND CONCERNING THE PRIVILEGES AND GIFTS WHICH HE BESTOWED.

PROVISION of a resting-place being now made for the saint's body, and they who attended upon him being now enabled to rest after their long labour of seven years' duration, God's justice determined that the wicked king Halfdene should at last suffer the punishment which he had caused by his cruelty towards the church of the saint and other holy places. He was attacked at the same time by mental insanity and the severest bodily suffering; the intolerable stench exhaling from which made him an object of abomination towards the whole army. Thus despised and rejected by all persons, he fled away in three ships from the Tyne, and shortly afterwards he and all his followers perished.

On this occurrence the venerable body was removed to the monastery of Crec,[2] which was built within a vill which had formerly been the saint's own property;[3] and having been most kindly received there by the abbot named Geve, they spent four months in that place, as if it had been their own. During this time the army, and such of the inhabitants as survived, being without a king, were insecure; whereupon the blessed Cuthbert himself appeared in a vision to abbot Eadred, that man of holy life, whom we have[1] already mentioned, and, watchful over the repose of his own followers, he addressed him in the following words:—"Go to the army of the Danes," said he, "and announce to them that you come as my messenger; and ask to be informed where you can find a lad named Guthred, the son of Hardacnut, whom they sold to a widow. Having found him, and paid the widow the price of his liberty, let him be brought forward before the whole aforesaid army; and my will and pleasure is, that he be elected and appointed king at Oswiesdune, (that is, Oswin's hill,) and let the bracelet be placed upon his right arm."

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. xiii.

[2] A.D. 882.

[3] See chap. ix. p. 637.

When the abbot awoke up he narrated the incident to his companions, and he immediately set out upon the execution of his commission. The young man was produced, and both barbarians and natives reverently accepted the directions of St. Cuthbert, by unanimously appointing him (who had so recently been a slave) to be their sovereign. Having thus attained the throne by their united grace and favour, the troublous storms which had arisen were lulled, and tranquillity was restored; and upon this the episcopal see, which had hitherto been established in the island of Lindisfarne, was transferred to Cuncacestre.[2]

After a residence of four months at Crec, the uncorrupted body of the most blessed father having been translated to Cuncacestre, accompanied by those persons who had attended upon him, the episcopal throne was first occupied by Eardulf, that most excellent bishop, who in prosperity and adversity had clung to the saint with unchanged affection. King Guthred contributed liberally to the church, giving honours and presents; and in his devout humility he constantly and faithfully served him who had raised him to the throne from the condition of a slave. Whatever commands the one gave with respect to the liberties and privileges of his church, and for the support of those who ministered therein, the other, like an obedient servant, immediately put into execution.

The saint once more appeared to the abbot in a vision, and spoke thus:—"Tell the king that he must give to me, and to those who minister in my church, the whole of the district lying between the Wear and the Tyne, to be held in perpetuity, that it may be the means of providing them with the necessaries of life, and secure them against want. Moreover, command the king to appoint that my church shall become a safe place of refuge for fugitives, so that any one who flees to my body, for what cause soever, shall have protection there for thirty-seven days; and that the asylum shall not be violated upon any pretence whatever." Not only did king Guthred give heed to the directions which were communicated by this trustworthy messenger, the abbot, but also that powerful king, whom we have already named, Aelfred, did the same, and they published them to all the people, and decreed that they should be observed for ever; while the whole army, not only of the English, but of the Danes also, agreed thereto, and approved of the same. It was determined that such persons as presumed in any manner to violate the protection which the saint had thus established, should be fined by a payment of money; that is to say, that the fine due to the saint for the violation of his sanctuary, should be equivalent to the fine payable to the king for the violation of his, amounting at the least to ninety-six pounds. Moreover—as the land which he had demanded, situated between the two rivers . . . . [1] was immediately conveyed to him—it was resolved by the assent of the whole people, that if any one gave land to St. Cuthbert, or if any land was purchased with his money, that from that time no one should presume to exercise over it any right of service or custom; but that the church alone should possess in perpetuity unbroken quiet and liberty therein, together with all the customs; and (to use the common terms) with sac and socne, and infangentheof. The universal suffrage condemned by a sentence of anathema those persons, whoever they might be, who presumed in any manner to attempt to set aside those laws and statutes, and consigned them to the perpetual punishment of the flames of hell, unless they made satisfaction.

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[1] See chap. xxi. p. 656.

[2] Chester-le-street, in the county of Durham.

After the lapse of some time the nation of the Scots[2] collected a numerous army, and among their other deeds of cruelty, they invaded and plundered the monastery of Lindisfarne. Whilst king Guthred, supported by St. Cuthbert, was about to engage in battle with them, immediately the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them all up alive, herein repeating the ancient miracle in the matter of Dathan and Abiron. How this was done is notorious, as it is elsewhere[3] recorded.

Chap. XXIX.[4]—Concerning the Dignities and Privileges of the Church.

In the year eight hundred and ninety-four from our Lord's incarnation king Guthred died, after having reigned no short time in prosperity, leaving behind for the protection of others the inviolable privileges of the church of father Cuthbert. Those of them which related to the security and liberty of that church, and to the protection of such persons as fled to his sepulchre for safety, together with such other statutes as had reference to the security of the church, Guthred bequeathed in trust to the kings, bishops, and people of succeeding times; and they are preserved until this present day. No one who has ventured to infringe them, has escaped unpunished. Of this number were the Scots, of whom we have already spoken,[1] who disappeared instantaneously, the earth having opened her mouth and swallowed them up quick, because they had violated his sanctuary; and the following pages shall recount how terrible was the vengeance which overtook those persons whose presumption brought on them a similar punishment. Upon the death of Guthred, king Aelfred had the entire disposal of the whole kingdom of the Northumbrians; for after St. Cuthbert appeared to him he appended to his own kingdom, (that is, the realm of Wessex,) the provinces both of the Eastern Angles and the Northumbrians, upon the death of Guthred.

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[1] Here occurs a hiatus of nearly two lines, which is filled up, in a recent hand, by the words "Wear and Tyne."

[2] A more detailed account of this miracle may be seen in the History of the Translations and Miracles of St. Cuthbert, printed by Mabillon in his Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. IV. ii. 298, where the incident is said to have occurred at a place called Nundingedene.

[3] A reference apparently to the authority quoted in the last note.

[4] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. xiv.

Chap. XXX.[2]—About the Charge which King Elfred upon the Death-bed gave to his son Edward.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and ninety-nine, died that same most pious king of the Angles, Elfrid, after having filled the throne for twenty-eight years and a half, and he was succeeded by his son Edward. This latter sovereign was earnestly admonished by his father, that he should always hold St. Cuthbert and his church in the highest reverence and affection, bearing in mind how great were the perils and calamities from which he had delivered Alfred, and had restored him to the throne, and how he had extended his sway beyond the territorial limits which had been under the jurisdiction of his ancestors.

Chap. XXXI.[3]—Concerning Bishop Cutheard, and how Edward became possessed of the Monarchy; and about Onlafbald, how he died within the Porch of the Church of St. Cuthbert.

In the same year in which king Elfred died, bishop Eardulf, of whom we have already spoken, departed from this life in a good old age, that he might receive the reward of his labours. This occurred in the nineteenth year after the holy body of the blessed father Cuthbert had been removed to Cunecacestre, and in the forty-sixth year of his episcopate. In his stead Cutheard, one approved before God and men for the sanctity of his life, received the government of the episcopal see. Provident for the future security of those who should hereafter serve God in the presence of the uncorrupt body of the saint, he made ample provision for their wants, and the charter book of the church (which contains a record of the ancient munificence of kings and other religious persons towards St. Cuthbert) manifestly declares how many were the vills which he purchased by the money of the saint, and added to the gifts which had been contributed by the bounty of former sovereigns.

During the period when Edward was the governor of the kingdoms, not only of the Western Saxons, but also of the Eastern Angles and the Northumbrians, and whilst the episcopate of the Bernicians was under the rule of Cutheard, a certain pagan king named Reingwald landed on the Northumbrian shores with a large fleet. Without any delay he broke in upon York, and either killed or drove out of the country the more influential of the inhabitants. He next seized the whole of the land of St. Cuthbert, and divided its vills between two of his leaders, one of whom was named Scula,[1] the other Onlafbal. The former of them, Scula, obtained possession of the district from Iodene as far as Billingham,[2] and distressed the miserable inhabitants with heavy and intolerable tributes. Hence it is that even to the present day the men of Yorkshire, whenever they are compelled to pay a royal tribute, always try to lay a portion of the impost upon that district of the land of St. Cuthbert which Scula held, thereby to lighten themselves. In other words, they hold as lawful the unjust act of a tyrannical pagan, a man who was in arms, not for the rightful king of the English, but for one who was his enemy, a barbarian, and a stranger; but they are still unable to introduce this evil custom, although they make use of strenuous effort to do so, for it is resisted by St. Cuthbert. Onlafbal[3] took possession of another part of the vills, and showed that he was even more savage and more cruel than his companion; but this he did to his own destruction, as was clearly proved to all. After he had inflicted many injuries upon the bishop, the congregation, and the people of St. Cuthbert, and had laid violent hands upon the farms which of right belonged to the bishop, the latter, anxious to win the man over to God, said to him, "Let me entreat you to lay aside your pertinacious harshness of disposition, and to restrain your hands from thus lawlessly laying hold of ecclesiastical property; for you may be well assured that the confessor will not be slack in punishing you severely for the injuries which you are inflicting upon him and his." The other, puffed up with the spirit of the evil one, replied, "What is the use of threatening me at this time with this dead man? Of what worth is any help which this person in whom you trust can give you against me? I vow by the power of my gods that from this time forth I shall be a decided enemy to this dead man, and the whole of you." The bishop and all the brethren fell down upon the ground, and prayed that God and St. Cuthbert would be pleased to render nugatory these proud threats. The unfortunate being had at this time reached the door; one foot was even within the threshold, and one had crossed over it, and there he stood fixed as if a nail had been driven through each foot; unable to advance, unable to recede, unable to move in any direction. After having undergone many tortures, he was compelled to make public confession of the sanctity of the most blessed confessor, and then he gave up his wicked spirit in that same place. Terrified by this example, none of the others dared, upon any pretext whatever, from that time forward to seize any of the lands or other property which lawfully belonged to the church.

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[1] Namely, in the last chapter.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. xv.

[3] Id. chap. xvi.

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[1] This individual has apparently left a memorial of himself in the name of School Akley, a village a little to the north-west of Darlington.

[2] Eden and Billingham, in the county of Durham.

[3] The punishment of this person is given with greater detail in the narrative printed by Mabillon. See p. 665, note [3].

CHAP. XXXII.[1]—CONCERNING BISHOP TILRED; AND ABOUT THE COMMAND WHICH WAS GIVEN AT THIS TIME TO KING ETHELSTAN BY HIS FATHER, AND WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN GIVEN BY HIS GRANDFATHER.

BISHOP Cutheard having now died[2] during the fifteenth year of his episcopate, he was succeeded in the government of the church by Tilred, a man of activity. In the seventh year of his pontificate king Edward died, and was succeeded in the government of the kingdom by his son Aethelstan, who conducted its affairs with the greatest reputation. He was the first of the kings of the whole of Britain who attained to unlimited dominion, and this was by the assistance of the blessed Cuthbert, who had obtained it for him from God. For when he had appeared upon a previous occasion to his grandfather Elfred, he had promised him thus:—"The rule of the whole of Britain shall be placed at the disposal of your sons by my assistance." When Ethelstan's father was at the point of death he repeated all this to his son; he told him how many and how important were the favours which the blessed Cuthbert had bestowed upon his own father; how he had commanded him to sally forth from the hiding-places in which he had been lurking from fear of the enemy, and to attack them; how he had immediately collected for him the whole of the English army; and how, after they had defeated the Danes with no great difficulty, he had added to the kingdom, which he had inherited from his ancestors, the greater part of Britain, and had promised that thenceforth he would be to him a ready assistant. And the king added:—"Therefore, my son, take heed to prove that you are upon every occasion a faithful and devout follower of a patron so influential, and of so kind a deliverer; bearing in mind what he has promised to the sons of Aelfred, if they follow holiness and justice, and are faithful to himself." Aethelstan gave willing attention to these admonitions of his kind father; and when he obtained the kingdom, he carried them out yet more willingly. None of his predecessors on the throne loved the church of St. Cuthbert as he did; none beautified it with gifts so numerous and so regal. Therefore it was that the glory of his reign surpassed that of any of the sovereigns who had filled the throne before him; for he everywhere overcame the numerous enemies by whom he was assailed from every quarter; he either slew them, or reduced them to subjection, or drove them out of the limits of Britain. In the first year of his reign, that is, in the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and nineteen, St. Dunstan was born, who departed to the Lord in the seventieth year of his age, during the reign of king Aethelred.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book II chap. xvii.

[2] A.D. 915.

Chap. XXXIII.[1]—Of Bishop Wigred, and of the great Gifts which King Ethelstan gave to St. Cuthbert as he was going into Scotland.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and twenty-five,[2] Tilred died, after having spent thirteen years and four months in the episcopate; and in his place Wigred was elected and consecrated bishop. In the tenth year of his pontificate, when king Ethelstan was on his road to Scotland with the army of the whole of Britain, he came to the sepulchre of St. Cuthbert, requesting his assistance and soliciting his prayers, and he offered many royal gifts of various kinds as an ornament to his church; and these, which are preserved to the present day within its walls at Durham, remain as a perpetual memorial of his pious devotion towards the church of the holy father Cuthbert. The cartulary which contains a regular enumeration of them, makes proof of their character and magnitude. To these gifts of ornaments he added a further donation of vills, no less than twelve in number, for the support of those persons who served within the church; but as their names are recorded elsewhere, it is unnecessary to recount them in this place. Moreover he gave his sanction to the laws and customs of the saint, which had been enacted by his grandfather king Alfred, and by king Guthred, and he directed that they should be inviolably observed for ever. Having made this offering, he laid the heavy curse of an anathema upon such as might dare to take these away, or in any manner to curtail them; that is to say, that they should be smitten in the day of judgment with the same sentence of condemnation as the traitor Judas. At the king's command the army paid honour to the tomb of the holy confessor by the gift of more than ninety-six pounds' weight of silver. Thus having commended himself and his soldiers to the protection of the holy confessor, he proceeded on his journey, and he laid a solemn charge upon his brother Eadmund, that if any misfortune befel himself in this expedition, his body should be removed to the church of St. Cuthbert, and there be buried. But he put to flight Owin, king of the Cumbrians, and Constantine, king of the Scots, and subdued Scotland with an army by land and sea.

In the fourth year after this, that is to say, in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven of our Lord's nativity, Ethelstan fought at Weardune (which is called by another name Aet-Brunnanwerc, or Brunnanbyrig) against Onlaf the son of Guthred, the late king, who had arrived with a fleet of six hundred and fifteen ships, supported by the auxiliaries of the kings recently spoken of, that is to say, of the Scots and Cumbrians. But trusting in the protection of St. Cuthbert, he slew a countless multitude of these people, and drove those kings out of his realm; earning for his own soldiers a glorious victory. Though he was thus formidable on every side to his enemies, he was peaceful towards his own subjects, and having passed the remainder of his life in repose, he left the monarchy of the kingdom to his brother Edmund.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. xviii.

[2] This is ascribed to A.D. 922 in Twysden's text, and in Simeon's History of the Kings to A.D. 928.

In the third year of his reign died Wigred,[1] after having filled the episcopal chair for seventeen years, and he was succeeded by Uhtred. King Edmund also, when he was on his way into Scotland along with his army, visited the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and entreated his assistance; and following herein the example of his late brother Ethelstan, he honoured it with royal gifts, namely, gold and precious vestments, and he confirmed the laws of the saint as they had been when they were at their best estate.

CHAP. XXXIV.[2]—HOW ST. CUTHBERT EXPELLED THE SIMONIACAL BISHOP SEXHELM, AND DROVE HIM OUT OF HIS LAND.

UPON the death of bishop Uhtred, Sexhelm was ordained in his room, but after having resided for only a few months in his church, he fled from it, having been expelled by St. Cuthbert. He had widely departed from the precedent of those who had gone before him, and had been driven by his avarice to oppress the people who belonged to the saint, and those who were serving in his church; whereupon the saint terrified him by a dream, and commanded him to depart with all possible speed. Whilst he lingered, the saint appeared to him on the second night, and having rebuked him more severely, ordered him to leave the place forthwith, threatening him with punishment if he tarried any longer. But not even yet was he obedient, whereupon a third manifestation was made to him, more urgent than any of the former; and he was commanded to hasten his departure at once, and to beware how he carried off with him any of the property of the church. He was also given to understand that if he hesitated, death was impending over him. Upon awaking from his sleep, he was seized with illness, and in order to save his life he hurriedly departed, although labouring under this attack of sickness; but as soon as he reached York in his flight his health was restored to him. His successor in the episcopal see was Aldred.[3]

CHAP. XXXV.[4]—OF THE DEATH OF KING EADMUND, AND OF THE EPISCOPATE OF ELFSIG.

IN the year nine hundred and forty-eight[5] from our Lord's incarnation, king Edmund died, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Eadred, a man who cultivated piety and justice, and one who lavished kingly gifts upon the church of St. Cuthbert, as his brothers had done before him.

Upon the death of bishop Aldred, he was succeeded[6] in the government of the church at Cunecacestre by Aelfsig, who was ordained at York by archbishop Oscekill,[1] in the time of king Eadgar, who had succeeded his brother Eadwi in the kingdom. After having spent twenty-two years in his bishopric, Aelfsig died; and in his stead Aldhun, a man of devoted religion, was elected, and consecrated bishop, in the year nine hundred and ninety from the incarnation of our Lord, which was the twelfth year of the reign of king Aethelred, who had obtained possession of the royal sceptre upon the death of his brother Edward, who was miserably murdered by the treachery of his stepmother. This bishop was of a noble family, but much more ennobled by his devotion, which rendered him acceptable to God; and, like all his predecessors, he was a monk in habit and mode of life. Even to this present day the inhabitants of the district celebrate his praises, the account of which they have received from their ancestors.

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[1] He died A.D. 944.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. xix.

[3] See Florence of Worcester, A.D. 944.

[4] In Twysden's edition, book II. chap. xx.

[5] He died 25th May, A.D. 946. See the Saxon Chronicle, ad an.

[6] See the Chronicle of Melrose, A.D. 968.

CHAP. XXXVI.[2]—HOW ALDUNE CONVEYED THE BODY OF ST. CUTHBERT TO RIPPUN; AND HOW HE AFTERWARDS CAME FROM WERDELAU TO DURHAM; AND OF THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO CARRIED HIM.

IN the year nine hundred and ninety-five from our Lord's incarnation, and in the seventeenth year of the reign of king Ethelred, when this same bishop Aldun was now entering upon the sixth year of his episcopate, he was admonished by a revelation from heaven, that, carrying with him the uncorrupt body of the most holy father, he should escape by flight, as speedily as possible, from the irruption about to be made by some pirates who were close at hand. So he took the body with him, and he and all the people who are styled the people of St. Cuthbert conveyed it to Hripum;[3] and this was in the one hundred and thirteenth year after it had been located at Cunecacestre. It is worthy of note that in this their flight not one individual of that great multitude, from the least to the greatest, was afflicted with any infirmity, but they all accomplished their journey without any fatigue or inconvenience whatever. Not only did the men, but even the more delicate of their cattle, and those which had just before been born (for it was during spring time that this occurred) endure the fatigues of the road without difficulty and suffering. But after three or four months, peace being restored, as they were returning with the venerable body to its former resting-place, and had now reached a spot near Durham, called Wurdelau, on the eastern side of the city, the vehicle, on which the shrine containing the holy body was deposited, could not be induced to advance any further. They who attempted to move it were assisted by others, but their efforts, though vigorous, were equally ineffective; nor did the additional attempts of the crowd which now came up produce any result in moving it; for the shrine containing the uncorrupted body continued where it was, as firmly fixed as if it were a mountain. This circumstance clearly intimated to all that he refused to be reconducted to his former place of residence; but at the same time they did not know where they should deposit him, for the place on which they were at that time standing, in the middle of a plain, was then uninhabitable. Hereupon the bishop addressed the people, and gave directions that they should solicit an explanation of this sign from heaven by a fast of three days' duration, which should be spent in watching and prayer, in order that they might discover where they should take up their abode along with the holy body of the father. This having been done, a revelation was made to a certain religious person named Eadmer, to the purport that they were required to remove the body to Durham, and there to prepare a resting-place for it. When this revelation was publicly announced, all were comforted thereby, and joyfully returned thanks to Christ; and a very few of their number were now able to raise the saint's shrine, whereas the whole multitude had previously been unable even so much as to move it. And thus with joy and thanksgiving they translated the holy body to Durham, the spot which had been pointed out to them from heaven; and, having made a little church of boughs of trees with all speed, therein they placed the shrine for a time.[1] Of those persons who upon that occasion were with the holy body of the confessor, there was one named Riggulf, whose life extended to two hundred and ten years, forty of which immediately preceding his death he had spent in a monk's dress. He was the nephew of Franco, who (as we have already stated[2]) was one of the seven who had followed the holy body of the father without ceasing. Franco was the father of that Reingwald, from whom the village of Reinington,[3] which he founded, takes its name. Reingwald was the father of Riggulf, who had a son named Ethric, and a daughter of this Ethric became the mother of the priest Alchmund, the father of Elfred, who is alive at the present time. This Franco had a companion named Hunred, of whom we have already spoken;[4] and Eadulf the son of Hunred became the father of Eadred, of whom it is reported that for the last six years of his life he could not speak when outside the church, while as long as he was within its walls there was no one who could be more prompt or more skilful than himself in chanting and in singing. There were some who thought that this inability arose to prevent that tongue, which was so studiously exercised in prayers and psalmody, from becoming polluted by idle or harmful conversation. This Eadred had a son named Collan, and he a son who was called Eadred, and Eadred became the father of another Collan, whose sister was the mother of Eilaf, and of the priests Hemming and Wulfkill, who are alive at the present day. What we have said about these persons is sufficient for our present purposes; we will now resume the thread of our narrative.

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[1] Or Oskytel, who sat at York from A.D. 956—972.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. i.

[3] Ripon, in Yorkshire.

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[1] Hence probably the name of the church of St. Mary-le Bow.

[2] See chap. xxvii. p. 661.

[3] Rainton, near Durham.

[4] See chap. xxvii.

Chap. XXXVII.[1]—How the Place was made habitable.

When the whole assembly of the people accompanied the holy body of the father Cuthbert into Durham, it was discovered that the place, although naturally strong, was not easily habitable; for the whole space, with the sole exception of a moderate-sized plain in the midst was covered with a very dense wood. This had been kept under cultivation, having been regularly ploughed and sown; and hereon, at a later period, bishop Aldhun erected a tolerably large church of stone, as will appear hereafter. The said bishop, assisted by all the populace, and by Uhtred,[2] earl of the Northumbrians, cut down the whole of the timber, and in a brief space of time made the place habitable. The entire population of the district, which extends from the river Coquet to the Tees, readily and willingly rendered assistance as well to this work as to the erection of the church at a later period; nor did they discontinue their labours until the whole was completed. When the wood had been uprooted, and a residence assigned by lot to each person, the bishop, in the warmth of his love for Christ and St. Cuthbert, commenced to build a fine church upon a large scale, and devoted all his energies to its completion. In the meantime the sacred corpse had been translated from that smaller church, which we have already mentioned,[3] and removed into another which was called the White Church; and there it remained for the three years during which the larger fabric was being built.

Chap. XXXVIII.[4]—Of a Cripple who was cured at the Spot where the Body of the blessed Cuthbert had rested.

Where the corpse had rested at the first, miracles began to be performed, and sick people to be restored to health. For, some considerable time afterwards, a certain Scottish woman, who had continued in infirm health all her life long, was brought to Durham; and so great was her misery that her condition excited the compassion of the most hard-hearted. Her feet and thighs were twisted backwards and dragged behind her, and she crept on her hands, and in this posture she dragged herself from one place to another. It so happened that she conveyed herself in this miserable plight to the spot already mentioned, where the most holy body had rested for a few days; and here she suddenly began alternately to leap up (for the veins had resumed their natural position) and to fall again to the ground, and her cries disturbed the whole neighbourhood. After a little time the woman stood upon her feet, erect and strong, and she returned thanks to Christ, who had become her Saviour through the intercession of the blessed Cuthbert. When this was noised abroad, the whole city hastened to the church; the bells were rung, the clergy sung the "Te Deum laudamus;" the people joined their voices in celebrating the praises of God and recording the exploits of the illustrious Cuthbert, the friend of the Almighty. She who was cured travelled through many regions and nations, performing all her journey on foot; for she went to Rome to pray, and on her return she passed over into Ireland, everywhere proclaiming the excellence of the holiness of God and of his beloved confessor, as manifested in the miracle wrought upon herself. We have recorded this miracle, as we have frequently heard it narrated by certain religious and venerable priests who were eye-witnesses thereof.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. ii.

[2] See Dugdale's Baron. i. 8.

[3] In the last chapter.

[4] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. iii.

CHAP. XXXIX.[1]—AS TO THE PERIOD AT WHICH BISHOP ALDUN DEDICATED THE CHURCH AT DURHAM, AND ABOUT THE GIFTS WITH WHICH IT WAS ENDOWED BY THE NOBILITY.

Now, to return to our previous narration, the venerable bishop Aldhun solemnly dedicated the church upon the day before the nones of September[2] [4th Sept.], in the third year after its foundation; and to the great joy of all, and to the honour of God, he translated the incorrupted body of the most holy father Cuthbert, and deposited it with due honour in the place which had been prepared for its reception. And so, up to the present time, the episcopal see remains in this place, along with the holy body, although it had originally been founded by king Oswald and bishop Aidan in the island of Lindisfarne. From that period, I mean from the year in which Aidan ascended the bishop's seat in that island, until the year in which Aldhun mounted that in Durham, three hundred and sixty-one years had elapsed, and three hundred and nine from the death of the father Cuthbert.

The whole of the population, no less than the bishop, was exceedingly delighted with the locality in which the providence of God had been pleased to fix the future abode of the body of his servant, and to manifest that such was his pleasure by the miracle and revelation which we have already recorded. This bishop was a personage of uncommon devotion and humility, and beloved by all good men for his words and actions.

At this time there were very many who contributed divers gifts to the benefit of the church, as well as landed possessions for the support of those who there ministered to the holy confessor. One of these, a nobleman called Styr, the son of Ulf, obtained permission from king Ethelred to give Dearnington,[3] with its adjuncts, to St. Cuthbert; and (in the presence of the king, and of Wolstan, archbishop of York, and Aldhun, bishop of Durham, and the other chief men who had assembled with the king at York) this donation was so confirmed, that a sentence of an eternal anathema was pronounced upon the person who should deprive St. Cuthbert of the gift. The individual whom we have mentioned added some other lands, which are recorded in writing elsewhere. Besides these lands, Snaculf, the son of Cykell, added a further donation, that is to say, Brydbyrig, Mordun, Socceburg, Grisebi, with sac and socne. There was other landed property, which bishop Aldhun, compelled by the pressure of the times, transferred (for a period) to the earls of the Northumbrians; but nearly all of these were alienated from the church by the violence of their successors in the earldom.[1] Some of them are here specified by name.[2] Gegenford (which, as we have already stated,[3] was founded and given to St. Cuthbert by bishop Ecgred), Cueorningtun, Sliddenesse, Bereford, Lyrtingtun, Marawuda, Stantun, Stretlea, Cletlinga, Langadun, Mortun, Persebrige, the two Alclits, Copland, Weardsette, Bincestre, Cuthbertestun, Ticcelea, Ediscum, Werdetun, Hunewic, Neowatun, and Helme. All these were once the property of that church, which, while she sought to benefit those who were in necessity, thereby endamaged her own interests.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. iv.

[2] Bedford, in his edition of Simeon, refers the dedication of the church to the year 999, but apparently this date is a year too late. In 998 the 4th of September fell upon a Sunday.

[3] That is, Darlington.

CHAP. XL.[4]—CONCERNING KING CNUT; AND OF THE PRAYER OF BISHOP ALDUN, AND HIS DEATH.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation ten hundred and eighteen, while Cnut ruled the kingdom of the Angles, a comet appeared for thirty nights to the people of Northumbria, a terrible presage of the calamity by which that province was about to be desolated. For, shortly afterwards, (that is, after thirty days,) nearly the whole population, from the river Tees to the Tweed, and their borders, were cut off in a conflict in which they were engaged with a countless multitude of Scots at Carrun.[5] When the bishop heard of the miserable destruction of the people of St. Cuthbert, he was smitten to the heart with deep grief, and he sighed forth these words: "It is my miserable lot to be reserved to see such days as these are! Have I lived thus long only to be the witness of such a destruction of my people as the present? The land will never recover its original condition. O most holy Cuthbert! O confessor beloved of God! if ever at any time I have done aught which was well-pleasing in your sight, make me now, I entreat you, some return for the same; and let this be my reward, that, since my people have fallen, I may not long survive them." It was not long before he obtained the request for which he had been a petitioner; for a few days afterwards he was seized with sickness, and died,[6] after having held the bishopric for twenty-nine years; of which number, five were passed at Chester, and twenty-four at Durham. Of the church, the building of which he had commenced, he left behind him nothing more than a western tower, and that in an unfinished condition; the completion and dedication of which were reserved for his successor.

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[1] At this point there is an erasure of twelve lines in the Durham MS., but the passage to the end of the chapter (omitted in Twysden's edition) is supplied from Leland's Collectanea, I. ii. 187.

[2] Nearly all the places can be identified under a trifling change of name in Durham and the northern part of Yorkshire.

[3] See chap. xx. p. 658.

[4] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. v.

[5] Probably Carham, on the river Tweed. See Camd. Brit. col. 1096.

[6] A.D. 1018.

Chap. XLI.[1]—How a Voice issued thrice from the Sepulchre of St. Cuthbert, in consequence of which Eadmund, a Clerk of the same Church, was promoted to the Bishopric and made a Monk.

Upon the death of Aldhun, the church continued for nearly three years without the protection of a bishop. Its inmates, unwilling any longer to endure this lengthened deprivation, summoned a meeting, and deliberated about the choice of a successor from among their own number. Each of them, in succession, felt it to be hard to leave the pleasures of the world,[2] to abandon its allurements, and to cast aside its pleasures,—hard to submit to carry the heavy yoke of holiness. For, according to the canon law, it was the custom that no one should be chosen as bishop of that church save from among its own inmates; nor could any one, unless of honest and religious conversation, lightly venture to ascend the seat of St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert, and those other holy bishops. Whilst they were deliberating on these matters, one of their number, named Eadmund, a priest of good conversation, joined them, and asked them what they were doing, and why they were so sorrowful; and when he understood that they were treating about the election of a bishop, he said to them, sportively, "Why do not you elect me as the bishop?" Knowing him to be a religious and efficient man, they took his jest as if it were earnest; for they all unanimously agreed to elect him. At first, he believed that they were joking with him; but when he discovered that they were speaking in sober truthfulness, he took the matter deeply to heart, and insisted that in no one particular was he fitted for such a dignity. Whilst they were urging him to undertake it, he replied: "I acknowledge that I am wholly unfit for such an office; but I know that nothing is impossible with God; and I pray that his will, and the will of St. Cuthbert, may be accomplished in me." So then, after they had spent three days before the tomb of St. Cuthbert, (as had been the constant custom heretofore,) in earnest prayers and fastings, entreating him that he would declare by some manifest token who it was whom he should wish to be chosen to the bishopric; and while a certain religious priest was celebrating a mass (which had been appointed for this very purpose) near the head of the saint, as he was in the midst of the canon, he heard a voice issuing, as it were, from the very sepulchre of the father, which thrice proclaimed Eadmund as bishop. The priest forthwith thrice knelt suppliantly before the altar, and when at last he stood erect, he still heard the same voice proclaim, three times, Eadmund as bishop. When the mass was ended, he inquired of the deacon who had stood near him at the sacrifice of the altar, whether he had heard anything during the secret of the mass. He answered: "Thrice I heard Eadmund proclaimed bishop, but from whom that voice proceeded, I know not." Then the priest related the facts of the case, as they really stood, to the deacon; whilst all were wondering and inquiring why he bent the knee in the canon, contrary to the custom of the church. Then all, offering their praises and thanksgivings to God through St. Cuthbert, laid hold upon Eadmund and constrained him to take upon himself the government of the church.[1] A certain aged priest was in the habit of giving this account of his election, who stated that he had frequently heard the whole history from his grandfather, who was that very deacon who heard the voice whilst he was reading the gospel in the mass.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. vi.

[2] It will be remembered that Simeon is here describing the secular canons.

So then Eadmund was conducted to Cnut with much honour; and the king himself, rejoicing at his election, commanded that he should be ordained with due solemnity. But he declared that nothing would induce him to mount the chair of his predecessors, who were monks, unless he himself were to follow their example, and, like them, assume the monastic dress. Taking upon himself, then, the religious garb, he was honourably consecrated as bishop at Winchester, by Wulstan, archbishop of York; and he was much beloved and honoured by the king. On his return homewards, he paid a visit to the monastery of Burch [Peterborough]; and he obtained by his entreaties from the abbot a certain monk, who was notably skilled in ecclesiastical offices, and in the observance of the regular discipline, whose duty it should be to bear him constant company, and to instruct him in the details of a monastic life. His name was Aegelric, and he afterwards became bishop of this church of Durham.

This Eadmund was a man of noble origin, and honourable alike in person and behaviour; he never gave occasion for any evil surmises during his whole life; and proved himself energetic in the management of the church. Such as were his enemies had occasion to fear him, as indeed had all wicked people; while he was humble and amiable to every good man. He never flattered the powerful from fear, nor did he suffer the possessions of the church to be lost through the violence of any adversary.

CHAP. XLII.[2]—CONCERNING ELFRID THE PRIEST, HOW ILLUSTRIOUS HE WAS IN THE CHURCH OF ST. CUTHBERT; AND OF THE HAIR WHICH HE PUT IN THE FIRE; AND ABOUT THE MANY HOLY RELICS WHICH HE REMOVED TO DURHAM, UPON THE REVELATION OF THE BLESSED CUTHBERT.

UNDER this bishop there flourished in that church a certain presbyter, whose works of piety and religion had earned for him an intimate familiarity with St. Cuthbert; his name was Aelfred, and he survived until the days of bishop Egelwin.[3] He was a man devoted in every respect to St. Cuthbert; of much sobriety, full of almsgiving, unceasing in prayers; terrible to the lascivious and impure, but one who was held in respect by the lovers of what is honest and the God-fearing. He was a most faithful keeper of the church; and one whom even bishops were cautious how they offended, when they knew how intimate he was with the holy confessor. For when bishop Egelric, and his successor brother Egelwin, and the monks who were with them, wished (in addition to the property of the church which they had plundered) to carry off the holy relics of the saints also, and to transfer them to their own monasteries, it is notorious that they were restrained from the commission of this act of injustice by their fear of this priest aforesaid. It was his custom to chant the psalter each night; and when that was done, he used to ring the bell for the nocturnal vigils. Moreover, he was most assiduous in instructing the boys in the service of God; and he carefully taught them, day by day, how to sing and read, and how to conduct the ministrations of the church. He had in his possession one of the hairs of the most holy father Cuthbert, which it was his wont frequently to exhibit to those friends who visited him; and whilst they were wondering at the sanctity of the holy man, he made them wonder still more by means of this hair. For he used to fill a censer with glowing coals, and to lay that hair upon them; and although it continued thereon for a long time, it could not be consumed thereby, but it grew white, and glittered like gold in the fire; and after it had remained there for a considerable period, on its removal it recovered, little by little, its former appearance. Not only did many of his disciples witness this miracle, but one of the brethren of this monastery, named Gamel, a man of much simplicity and humility (who is now asleep in the Lord), affirmed that he had very frequently seen the same occurrence.

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[1] See Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1020.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. vii.

[3] That is, between A.D. 1056 and 1071.

Now, while this priest aforesaid was leading an honest and religious life, he was commanded by a vision to visit in succession the sites of the ancient monasteries and churches in the province of the Northumbrians; and he raised from the ground the bones of such of the saints as he knew were buried in these places; and he left them above ground, in order that they might be exhibited to the people, and venerated. I allude to the bones of Balther and Bilfrid, the anchorites; of Acca also and Alchmund, the bishops of Hexham; and of king Oswin: as also those of the venerable abbesses Ebba and Aethelgitha. A portion of all these relics he conveyed with him to Durham, and deposited them along with the body of the father Cuthbert. Admonished by a revelation, he went to the monastery of Melrose, whence he translated the bones of St. Boisil (who formerly had been the master of the blessed Cuthbert in that same monastery), and having deposited them in the church of his disciple, he honourably placed them in a second shrine, (similar to that in which they had formerly rested,) near the body of St. Cuthbert. It was his custom, also, annually to visit the monastery of Jarrow, (in which, as he was aware, the doctor Beda had lived, died, and was buried,) upon the approach of the day of his decease, and there to devote himself to prayers and watchings. Upon a certain occasion he went thither as usual; and after having spent some days there within the church, in solitude, praying, and watching, very early in the morning he returned alone to Durham, (a thing which he had never done before,) while his companions were ignorant of his departure, for he seemed like one who did not choose to have any witness of his secret. Although he survived this event many years, he did not trouble himself ever again to visit that said monastery of Jarrow, but he conducted himself like a person who had secured the object of his desires. Being frequently asked by his intimate friends where was the resting-place of the bones of the venerable Beda, his usual answer (given with the promptitude of a man who knew what he is talking about) was to this effect: "No one knows better about this than I do. Dearly beloved, consider this as a thing most firmly and most certainly established, that the same shrine which contains the most holy body of the father Cuthbert, contains also the bones of the teacher and monk Beda. Let no one seek for any portion of his relics outside the covering of this shrine." Having thus spoken, he enjoined his friends to keep the matter quiet, lest the strangers who were resident in that church should plot some treachery; for their most anxious wish was to carry off, if it were possible, the relics of the saints, and chiefly those of Beda. And, therefore, when he deposited the bones of these saints along with the body of St. Cuthbert, as has been already mentioned, he took good care to do this in private. In entire concurrence with this his opinion regarding Beda, is that poem composed in the English language,[1] which, after having treated of the state of this place, and of the relics of the saints which are therein deposited, makes mention of the relics of Beda, along with the others which are there enshrined. It is well known that his bones were those which were discovered, many years subsequently, wrapped up by themselves in a little linen bag, and deposited along with the uncorrupted body of the father Cuthbert.

Many other memorable incidents are told of this same individual, as having been done by him in compliance with a command given to him in a manifest vision vouchsafed to himself specially by St. Cuthbert, or announced to him as about to happen. For the innocence and pious simplicity of the men who lived at that time were very effective with St. Cuthbert; and in consequence he was in the habit of constantly defending them from their enemies, and speedily avenging any injuries which were inflicted upon them.

CHAP. XLIII.[2]—OF THE GIFTS WHICH KING CNUT BESTOWED UPON ST. CUTHBERT.

CNUT, the pious and religious king of the Angles, venerated with exceeding honour the church of St. Cuthbert, that holy bishop and confessor beloved of God; so much so, indeed, that he walked barefoot to that most holy body from as far as the place which is called Garmundsway,[1] a distance of nearly five miles; and he gave to the saint, and to those who attended upon him, the mansion of Staindrop, with all its appurtenances, namely Knapton, Scotton, Raby, Wacrefield, Evenwood, Acley, Luttrington, Eldon, Ingleton, Tickley, and Middleton. And he gave them upon this understanding, that no persons, save those who served the saint in his church, should interfere with these localities. And should any one do this, or presume to take aught away, or to curtail the donation, the king and bishop Eadmund pronounced them to be excommunicate; and by this excommunication they became the associates of those who, in the day of judgment, shall depart into everlasting flames. In like manner the same king gave to the saint the vill named Brontun.

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[1] See it printed in the Decem Scriptores, col. 76, and amongst the Addenda at the end of the volume. [C.]

[2] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. viii.

Chap. XLIV.[2]—Of the Siege of Durham, and the speedy Vengeance which overtook the King; and about the simoniacal Bishop; and of Bishop Egelric, who took away the Treasures of the blessed Cuthbert, and how he was punished.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and thirty-five, upon the death of Cnut, (when his son Harold[3] was in the fifth year of his reign, and bishop Eadmund in the twentieth of his pontificate,) Dunecan, king of the Scots,[4] advanced with a countless multitude of troops, and laid siege to Durham, and made strenuous but ineffective efforts to carry it. For a large proportion of his cavalry was slain by the besieged, and he was put to a disorderly flight, in which he lost all his foot-soldiers, whose heads were collected in the market-place and hung up upon posts. Not long afterwards the same king, upon his return to Scotland, was murdered by his own countrymen.

When bishop Eadmund was now in the twenty-third[5] year of his pontificate, he died at Gloucester, where he was resident with the king; his corpse, however, was conveyed by his followers to Durham, and was there honourably buried. Hereupon Eadred, the second in order after the bishop, made haste to obtain the bishopric of that church, being the first of the order of the clerics. He extracted from the treasures of the church no small sum of money, and purchased the bishopric from king Hardecnut; but God's vengeance did not permit him to exercise the episcopal office; for as he was about to enter the church he was seized with a sudden sickness, and, taking to his bed, he died in the tenth month.

In this year, that is to say, in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and forty-two,[6] the king himself died, and was succeeded on his throne by the most pious Eadward, the son of king Aethelred and Emma. The see of Durham was obtained by that same Aegelric, of whom mention has already[7] been made. Siward, having put to death earl Eadulf, governed the earldom of the whole province of Northumbria, from the Humber to the Tweed. But in the third year after he had succeeded to the episcopate, Aegelric was expelled from the church by the clerks, because he was a stranger; whereupon he betook himself to earl Siward, and by a bribe secured his favour and aid against these obstinate people. Terrified and awed by the apprehension of his power, they were constrained to be reconciled to the bishop, whether they would or not, and to readmit him into his episcopal see. The bishop had with him a monk named Egelwin, a brother of his own, who took the management of the whole bishopric under him; along with whom there were some other monks, all of whom joined with the bishop in studying how to plunder the church of her money and ornaments, and to carry them away. The bishop thought fit to pull down the wooden church at Cunecaceastre, (which we now corruptly call Ceastre,) and to build there another of stone, because the body of the blessed Cuthbert had for some time remained in that place. So when they had dug to some depth, a great treasure was discovered there, which (as it was reported) the sacrist and a few others along with him had hidden a long time previously, in consequence of the tyranny of Sexhelm, of whom we have made mention above.[1] The bishop laid hands upon the money and transmitted it to the monastery whence he himself had come; it being his firm intention to follow it thither in person, for his plan was to send before him a quantity of gold and silver, and other articles, which he had removed from the church, and then to resign his bishopric, substituting his brother Egelwin in his place. By these means Egelwin was elevated to the episcopate,[2] in the fifteenth year of the reign of that most pious king Edward, by the assistance and favour of earl Tosti, who had succeeded Siward; and Egelric, after having been bishop for fifteen years, returned to his own monastery; and he employed the money, of which we have already spoken, in constructing through the fenny regions roads of stone and wood,[3] and churches, and many other things. But afterwards, during the reign of William, he was accused before him of having taken much money from the church of Durham; [and refusing to refund it,[4]] he was conducted to London, and there imprisoned, and he died whilst in the king's custody.

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[1] Still called Garmundsway.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. ix.

[3] Harold Harefoot succeeded his father A.D. 1035.

[4] This expedition occurred A.D. 1040.

[5] Florence of Worcester says (but incorrectly) that his death occurred A.D. 1048. The truer date is 1041, or 1042 at latest.

[6] See Florence of Worcester, ad an.

[7] See chap. xli. p. 677.

Chap. XLV.[5]—Of a Priest who committed Fornication at night; and how, on the morrow, as he was celebrating Mass, he saw a portion of the Body, along with the Blood, turn black, and on tasting it, how he found it to be intensely bitter.

Whilst this man was bishop[6] an unusual incident occurred, showing, by an awful example, how God's certain anger hangs over the ministers of the altar, if they dare to approach that holy mystery without chastity. For there was a certain priest, named Feoccher, whose dwelling (where he had a church) was at no great distance from the city; but as he had a wife, the life which he led was unworthy of the priestly office. One day a large assembly, as well of nobles as of private individuals, met together early in the morning at this place, there to hold some law pleadings; before the commencement of which they entreated the priest to celebrate mass for them. Having slept with his wife that night, he was afraid to approach the office of the altar, and refused to do so. But as they urged him, once, and again, and even the third time, to celebrate mass for them, the priest was in a dilemma; shame urged him on one side, and apprehension held him back on the other. If, on the one hand, he refused, he was afraid of giving cause for suspicion; if he consented, he was apprehensive of incurring the judgment of a just God. In the end, however, the fear of man was stronger than the fear of God, and so he celebrated mass. But at the time when he ought to have received the holy mysteries, looking into the chalice he saw that portion of the Lord's Body, which, according to custom,[1] he had put therein, changed, along with the Blood, into a most revolting aspect; and (as he afterwards confessed) that which he saw rather resembled the colour of pitch than of bread and wine. The priest hereupon understanding his crime, began to grow pale, and to tremble, as if he already felt himself consigned to the avenging flames. Moreover, he was in great trouble as to what course he should adopt for the disposal of that which he perceived within the chalice; he shuddered at the thought of receiving it, as if it were his own death; he would have gladly cast it upon the earth, but this he was afraid to do, since it was consecrated. Having come to the conclusion that whatever he did, he could not escape the judgment of the Almighty, he received it with great fear and trembling; but such was its bitterness that nothing could be more bitter. No sooner was the mass ended than he mounted his horse and hurried off to the bishop, and throwing himself at his feet he related the whole of the circumstances. Penance was enjoined him by the bishop, who gave him in command that, if he would obtain God's favour, it should be his study from that time forward to lead a life of severe chastity. This he willingly promised to do, and the promise which he had made he faithfully kept, spending the residue of his life in chastity and religion. That these events occurred as we have narrated them, rests upon the frequently-repeated authority of the son of this same presbyter, and two of the bishop's chaplains, who afterwards were inmates of this church, having assumed the monastic garb; and their informant was the presbyter himself.

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[1] See chap. xxxiv. p. 670.

[2] A.D. 1056; see Florence, ad an.

[3] Concerning these roads, see Ingulf, p. 658.

[4] This clause is erased in the Durham MS.

[5] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. x.

[6] A.D. 1042—1056.

CHAP. XLVI.[2]—HOW THE WIFE OF EARL TOSTI SENT A DAMSEL INTO THE CHURCHYARD OF THE BLESSED CUTHBERT, WHO SHORTLY AFTERWARDS SICKENED AND DIED; AND ABOUT THE IMAGES OF SILVER-GILT.

WHEN he had taken possession of the bishopric, Egelwin contributed nothing to the stores of the church; nay, his study rather was to abstract from it more of its ornaments and possessions than even his brother had done. But, as the issue of events proved, neither did he escape unpunished;—more of this, however, hereafter.[1]

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[1] Concerning this rite, see Durant, De Rit. Ecclesiæ Cathol. II. li. §§ 5 and 6.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xi.

During the period of his episcopate, the earl Tosti, (of whom we have already[2] made mention,) having the management of the earldom of Northumberland, always held the church of St. Cuthbert in veneration, and adorned it with no scanty gifts, which are preserved therein even to this present time. His wife also, Judith, the daughter of Baldwin earl of Flanders, an honourable and devout woman, exceedingly loved St. Cuthbert, and contributed many ornaments to his church; and promised that she would add yet more, together with landed possessions, if permission were granted her to enter within its walls, and to pray at his sepulchre. Not venturing to do such a thing as this in her own person, she had planned to send one of her waiting-maids before her, concluding that if the girl could do this in safety, she herself, the mistress, who was to follow after her, would incur no danger. When the damsel had been made acquainted with the pleasure of her mistress, she attempted the exploit at a secret opportunity. She was now in the very act of putting her foot within the churchyard when she began to be repelled by the violence of a sudden gust of wind; her strength failed her; she was attacked with sickness, and had scarce strength to return to the house, where, falling upon her bed, she was racked with severe pains, which ended only with her life. The countess was greatly terrified at this result, and by way of making a humble satisfaction, she and her husband caused to be made an image of the crucifix, (which, as we shall have occasion to remark hereafter,[3] was plundered of its ornamental work by robbers,) and an image of Mary, the holy mother of God, and of St. John the evangelist, and these they clad in gold and silver, and offered them and many other ornaments for the decoration of the church. At this time also occurred that other miracle about Barcwid,[4] of which a more detailed account is given elsewhere; who, when he was attempting to violate the sanctuary of the saint, was suddenly smitten with vengeance, and died.

CHAP. XLVII.[5]—OF A MAN ROUND WHOSE NECK A SERPENT TWISTED ITSELF AS HE WAS ASLEEP IN A FIELD, AND HOW IT SPRANG OFF AS HE ENTERED WITHIN THE CHURCH OF ST. CUTHBERT, AND HOW HE WAS DELIVERED.

THERE was also another ill-conducted individual, named Osulf, in whose person occurred the incident which we are about to report, as we have frequently heard the same described by many eye-witnesses. One day, on awaking from a sleep which he had been enjoying in the fields, he discovered that a serpent was twisted round his neck; he seized it with his hand, and dashed it to the ground, but it twined itself round his neck the second time. Once more did he throw it on the earth, but he was instantaneously attacked by it exactly in the same manner as before. It mattered not whether he threw the snake into the fire, or the water, or on the ground; it always regained its hold round his neck; how, he knew not. Sometimes he took a sword and cut it into pieces; but forthwith the selfsame serpent was twisting round his neck. And at first it was a very little one, but it gradually grew larger and larger; still, however, he experienced no harm from its venom. But whenever he entered that church, which is rendered illustrious by the bodily presence of the most holy confessor Cuthbert, at the very moment when he crossed the threshold, the serpent left him, nor did it presume to return so long as he continued within the fabric. But whenever he went out it immediately twisted itself closely round his neck. After he had endured this annoyance for some considerable period, he at last fell upon a plan for releasing himself: for three successive days and nights he remained within the church at prayer, and when he came out he was thenceforth unmolested by the grasp of the serpent. So going on a pilgrimage he was never afterwards seen in this country.

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[1] See chap. lii. [2] Namely, in chap. xliv. p. 681. [3] See chap. l. p. 687.

[4] Reference is made to chap. xvii. of the narrative published by Mabillon, Acta SS. ord. S. Bened. IV. ii. 303.

[5] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xii.

Chap. XLVIII.[1]—How a Man who stole Money at the Sepulchre, and put it in his Mouth, was punished, and restored.

At the same time there was a man who came along with his master to the solemn feast of the most holy confessor, and when he noticed the mass of coin which had accumulated upon the sepulchre by the offerings of the visitors, he determined to plunder it. So he drew near, and (for the purpose of deceiving the people who were standing round) he pretended to kiss the sepulchre, but in doing this he at the same time carried off four or five pennies in his mouth. Immediately the inside of his mouth began to feel as if on fire, to such a degree that, according to his own confession, he seemed as if he were carrying a red-hot iron in his mouth. He would gladly have spit out the pieces of money, but he could not so much as even open his lips. Tortured with these intolerable agonies, he ran through the church hither and thither like a dumb man; and he terrified all the people, for they thought he had gone mad. At last he broke out of the church, rushing through the crowd, and dashed from one spot to another without stopping; giving all to understand by fearful signs and gestures—for he could not do so by words—the extremity of his sufferings. At length, however, he became more tranquil, and hastily returned to the sepulchre, and kneeling down at full length, from the depths of his heart he asked for pardon from the saint, and offered all that he possessed. Having made this offering he placed it upon the altar, and kissed it; and as he kissed the altar, the pieces of money fell out of his mouth upon the sepulchre, Thus delivered from his pains, he lost no time in mounting his horse, and rode off at full speed, nor did he ever again pay a visit to Durham. Although he was frequently offered considerable gifts by his lord to return thither with him, he could not be induced to do so; nor indeed did he ever venture so near as to set eyes upon the church.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xiii.

Chap. XLIX.[1]—Of the Donations made by Earl Copsi.

Not only were this said earl[2] and his wife very devout and munificent to the church of St. Cuthbert, but their friends were equally so. One of them, named Copsi, (who had charge of the whole earldom under Tosti,) made a gift in perpetuity of the church of St. Germans in Merscum,[3] which had been dedicated by bishop Egelric, and the vill thereof, and certain other lands hereafter specified, to the service of St. Cuthbert and his sepulchre, and he, along with the bishops and the assembly, excommunicated all who deprived them of any of these donations, and excommunicated them to be condemned along with the devil. In Merscum he gave ten carrucates of land and a-half. In Thornton,[4] two carrucates of land; in Theostcota, ten bovates of land; in Readeclive, half a carrucate of land; in Gisburham, one carrucate of land. In attestation of this gift he also offered a silver cup, the preservation of which in this church keeps alive for ever the recollection of the fact. At a later time this same Copsi was entrusted, by the advice of king William, with the care of the province of the men of Northumberland, that is, of those who reside on the north of the river Tyne. This, however, was only for a short period.

Chap. L.[5]—Concerning King Edward and W[illiam]; and Robert Cumin, who was killed at Durham; and how the Tide was arrested when the Body of the blessed Cuthbert arrived in the Island.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and sixty-six, the most pious king Edward died, upon the nones of January [5th Jan.], in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, in whose stead Harold ascended the throne of the realm, but he held it only for a short time. For adverse circumstances sprang up around him on all sides; and he engaged in battle against the most valiant king of the Norwegians, in the first instance by two of his earls, and when they took to flight he fought with him personally at no great distance from York. Here indeed he gained the victory; but, proceeding from thence, he encountered in battle the most powerful earl of the Normans, who had just before arrived in England with a large army, and there Harold fell, with nearly the whole body of the English. When William had obtained the kingdom of the English, he, for a long time, bore with the rebellious Northumbrians, over whom he appointed a certain Robert, surnamed Cumin, in the third year of his reign. When the Northumbrians heard of this man's arrival, they all abandoned their houses, and made immediate preparation for flight; but a sudden snow-storm and a frost of extreme severity supervening, effectually prevented them from putting their intentions into practice. They all, therefore, came to the resolution of either murdering the earl or of themselves dying together. When the bishop met the earl he told him of this plot, and advised him to return. But the other was not permitted to hearken to these words of counsel, for he was one of those persons who paid the wages of their followers by licensing their ravagings and murders; and he had already killed many of the rustics of the church. So the earl entered Durham with seven hundred men, and they treated the householders as if they had been enemies. Very early in the morning, the Northumbrians having collected themselves together, broke in through all the gates, and running through the city, hither and thither, they slew the earl's associates. So great, at the last, was the multitude of the slain, that every street was covered with blood, and filled with dead bodies. But there still survived a considerable number, who defended the door of the house in which the earl was, and securely held it against the inroads of the assailants. They, on their part, endeavoured to throw fire into the house, so as to burn it and its inmates; and the flaming sparks flying upwards caught the western tower, which was in immediate proximity, and it appeared to be on the very verge of destruction. The people knelt down on their knees and besought St. Cuthbert to preserve his church from burning; and immediately a wind arose from the east which drove the flames backwards from the church, and entirely freed it from all danger. The house, however, which had caught fire, continued to blaze; and of those persons who were within it some were burnt, some were slaughtered as soon as they crossed its doors; and thus the earl was put to death along with all of his followers, save one, who escaped wounded. This occurred on the second of the kalends of February [31st Jan.]. Hereupon king William was bitterly incensed, and despatched thither a general with an army to revenge the death of the earl. But when they reached Allerton, and were about to advance towards Durham on the morrow, there arose such a dark mist that people could scarce recognise each other although standing close at hand; nor could they by any means discover the path. Whilst they were astonished at the occurrence, and deliberating with each other what should next be done, one of them announced that the inhabitants had a saint of their own in their chief town, who always protected them in their adversities, and whom no man could at any time injure without incurring his vengeance. Hearing this, they forthwith returned, each man to his own home; but the people for whose destruction the army had been despatched, knew nothing of their enemies until those enemies had retired. And so it came to pass, (by God's mercy through St. Cuthbert,) that they heard of the retreat of their enemies before they were aware of their march.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xiv.

[2] That is to say, Tosti and his wife Judith, mentioned in chap. xlvii. p. 683.

[3] Moresham, in Yorkshire.

[4] Thornton, also in Yorkshire, as are also Toocotes and Gisborough.

[5] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xv.

But in the same year[1] king William came to York with an army and devastated all the circumjacent districts; whereupon bishop Egelwin and the elders, having had a deliberation among themselves, took up the incorrupted body of the most holy father Cuthbert, and commenced a retreat to the church of Lindisfarne. This was in the seventy-fifth year after it had been conveyed to Durham by Aldhun. They spent the first night in the church of St. Paul at Jarrow; the second at Bedlington, and the third in the place called Tughall; upon the fourth day they reached the crossing to the island, accompanied by all the people of the saint. But as they happened to arrive there about evening, at the hour at which it was full tide, the bishop, and the elders, and the women and the children, mourned and lamented with each other at the danger which they should incur from the winter's cold, (for it was a little before Christmas,) which was sharper than usual. "What shall we do?" said they; "we are prevented from crossing over to the island at this time by the full tide; nor is there any place of residence for us in which we can escape this nipping cold." Whilst they were in the midst of these lamentations, the sea suddenly receding at that spot (but at no other), afforded them the means of passing over, whilst at every other point the tide was at the fullest. All of them immediately entered the island; and thus, singing praises to God and to his blessed confessor, did they reach the island dryshod, along with the holy body of its patron. In this affair one circumstance is worthy of especial notice, and it is a matter the truth of which is vouched for by those persons who at this time were carrying the shrine—that the waves of the sea followed hard upon their footsteps as they advanced, in such-wise as neither, on the one hand, to precede them to any distance, nor on the other, to linger far behind them as they hastened onwards. But when Lent was nigh at hand, and tranquillity had been restored, they carried the holy body back to Durham; and the church having been solemnly reconciled, they entered it with lauds upon the eighth of the kalends of April [25th Feb.], and restored the body to its own proper resting-place. They found the image of the crucifix thrown down upon the ground, and entirely stripped of the ornaments with which it had been clothed by earl Tosti and his wife, whom we have already mentioned.[1] And this was the sole ornament which the monks had left behind them in the church, because it was not easily carried with them in their flight, and they hoped at the same time, that out of respect to it the place itself would be treated with the greater reverence. But some of these people, when they arrived, plundered it entirely of all the gold and silver and precious stones which they could find therein, and then departed. The king was very much incensed at this proceeding, and ordered that they should be hunted out and arrested, and then taken to the bishop and the presbyters, in order that they might be punished at their discretion. But they did them no harm, and permitted them to escape uninjured.

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[1] A.D. 1069.

Not long after this, whilst the see was under the rule of Walcher,[2] the king already mentioned transmitted a large quantity of gold and silver, and very many precious gems, for the ornament of the same image; some of these the bishop employed for that purpose, as may be seen to this present day, some of them his poverty compelled him to expend in alleviating his own wants.

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[1] In chap. xlvi. p. 683.

[2] That is, between 1071 and 1080.

CHAP. LI.[1]—OF THE APPARITION OF ST. OSWALD AND THE BLESSED CUTHBERT, AND THE SUDDEN DEATH OF GILLO, AND OF THE PUNISHMENT WHICH FOLLOWED, AS HAD BEEN FORETOLD.

LET us return, however, to our previous history. In the flight already mentioned, when they were retreating towards the island along with the body of the holy father, there was a powerful individual on the other side of the Tyne, whose name was Gillo Michael; but this, which means The servant of Michael, was a misnomer, and a much more fitting name for him would have been, The servant of the devil. This man inflicted many injuries upon the fugitives; he hindered them in their journey; he persecuted them; he plundered them, and did them all the mischief he could. Not, however, without its punishment. For when the body of the saint had been deposited in the island, a certain aged clerk was sent home by the bishop for the purpose of discovering how things were going on at Durham, and what was the condition of the church. When he had made some little progress in the journey he was overtaken by the night, and having laid himself down in the middle of a field he took a short sleep, in which he had a vision which clearly revealed to him the death of the man whom we have mentioned. As we have frequently heard his account of the transaction, we have thought it best to write the matter down in order.

"I was carried," he said, "to Durham, and was standing, as I thought, within the church, when I perceived that two individuals of great authority were placed in front of the altar with their faces towards the east. One of them was of middle age, magnificently clothed in episcopal robes; and his venerable dress and dignified aspect declared him to be a bishop greatly to be reverenced. The other, who stood at his right hand, was clad in a garment of a ruddy colour; his countenance was somewhat long, and his beard very thin; he was tall in stature, and presented the appearance of a very handsome young man. After a short space of time, they withdrew their eyes from the altar and turned them towards the church; and the bishop, indignant, as it seemed, at its desertion, said, 'Woe to thee, Cospatric! woe to thee, Cospatric! thou hast pillaged our church of its possessions, and hast turned it into a solitude!' For it was owing chiefly to the advice of this Cospatric that the fugitives had abandoned the church; and it was he who had carried off with him the larger proportion of its ornaments. Whilst I was anxious to draw near them, and yet did not dare to do so, the younger of the two pointed towards me with his finger, and in a moderately loud voice he called me by my name, and asked me if I knew who that bishop was. When I answered that

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xvi.

I did not, 'That personage,' said he, 'is your master, the holy bishop Cuthbert.' I immediately fell at his feet, and entreated him to succour his church in her adversity. Presently they both reverently bowed their heads towards the altar, and advanced from it with a slow and measured step; and when they had reached the door, the younger of the two stepped forward somewhat in advance of the other, while the bishop stood in the doorway itself. He looked behind him, and calling me, (for I lingered somewhat behind,) he said, 'Earnanus, do you know who that young man is?' I replied, 'I do not know, my lord.' He answered, 'That is St. Oswald.' They now advanced together for some distance, towards the southern side of the city, and then halted. The bishop summoned me to him, and I came; and at his command I looked downwards, and saw a very deep valley filled with the souls of men. Therein this Gillo Michael, whom we have mentioned, was being tormented with fearful torments; for he was stretched at length in a filthy spot, and was suffering intolerable agonies, being pierced through and through in all directions with a sharp hay-scythe. The wretch was screaming out, and sending forth, without intermission, fearful yells, dire howls, and pitiful groans; but there was no intermission in the agonies which he endured, nor was the punishment suspended at any time. All the others were enduring the like torments. St. Cuthbert asked me if I could recognise any one there; and my reply was, that I could distinguish Gillo. 'You are quite correct,' said he; 'that is the very man: death has consigned him to this miserable infliction.' 'My lord,' said I, 'he is not dead, for this very evening he was at supper in his house, whole and hearty, and there is a great feast prepared for him at this moment at such and such a place, at which he is expected to be present.' He made answer, 'But I tell you of a truth he is a dead man at this moment; and he, and his companions whom you see with him, are compelled to undergo these pains and torments in consequence of having broken my sanctuary, and inflicted injuries upon myself in the persons of my followers.' When he had said this, I awoke, and immediately I mounted my horse, and entreated my companions to push onwards hastily along with me. Whilst they were wonderingly inquiring the cause of this sudden speed, I told them of the death of this Gillo, and how I had been made acquainted with it. They would not believe my story; and ridiculed me because I gave credence to it. Thus we journeyed onwards the whole night long, and in the morning we turned aside a short way from the high road, and went to the neighbouring church that we might hear mass. I was questioned by the people, as is a customary thing with them, what news I had brought with me. I announced the decease of the man; but they affirmed that I was mistaken, as they knew that he was in good health the day before. But immediately some of his household arrived, and stated that their master had died that very night. When I diligently inquired as to the time of his decease, which I did before them all, I discovered that he had died in the selfsame hour of the night in which I had recognised him as dead, and consigned to those horrible torments, of which I had been witness through the guidance of St. Cuthbert. When I recounted his intolerable agonies to earl Cospatric, and had added thereto what I had heard the saint say about himself, he trembled with fear, and immediately proceeded barefoot to the island where that holy body was; and by prayers and gifts he sought forgiveness for his transgressions. Yet this notwithstanding, he never afterwards recovered the honourable position which he had formerly enjoyed; for having been expelled from the earldom, the remainder of his life was a series of misfortunes and adversity.[1]

Chap. LII.[2]—Of Bishop Egelwin, who took part of the Treasure; how he was brought back again and captured.

The body of the most blessed confessor having been reconveyed to Durham, as we have stated, Egelwin, in the sixteenth year of his episcopate, carried off a portion of the treasures of the church, and went on board ship, intending to leave England. But when he had sailed towards Cologne, the point which he desired to reach, the wind drove him back to Scotland; and there he spent the winter. Departing from thence, the retainers of the king laid hold upon him when he was in Ely; and having been conveyed to Abingdon, he was ordered by the king into close imprisonment. Although he was frequently advised to restore to the church the goods which he had carried off, he affirmed with an oath that he had taken nothing whatever. But one day as he was washing his hands before dinner, an armlet slipped down from his arm on to his hand in the presence of all; and thus the bishop was convicted of manifest perjury. Being thus cast into prison at the king's command, such was his immoderate anxiety that he refused to taste any food, and died of grief and hunger.[3]

Chap. LIII.[4]—Of the Election of Bishop Walcher, who, however, was a Clerk.

Upon the departure of this individual, the church was without episcopal superintendence for an entire year, after which, in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and seventy-two, (which was the seventh year of the reign of king William,) Walcher was chosen by the king himself, and consecrated to the see of the church of St. Cuthbert. He was a native of Lorraine, of noble birth, amply instructed as well in sacred as in secular literature; he was of venerable old age, and worthy of this high honour no less from the sobriety of his manners than from the purity of his life. With the exception of that simoniacal personage, of whom we made mention[5] some time ago, who died in a few months, he was the first of the clerical order, after Aidan, who became a bishop of that church; but he showed himself to be a truly religious monk by the conversation of a laudable life. Finding clerks within the church, he instructed them to observe the usage of clerics in their daily and nightly offices; for until this time they had been wont to imitate the monastic customs in these matters, as far as they had learned them, by hereditary tradition from their ancestors, who, as has been already stated, had been trained up and educated amongst the monks.

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[1] See Dugd. Monast. i. 5, and Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1074 and 1075.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xvii.

[3] This occurred in 1071.

[4] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xviii.

[5] Namely, Bishop Sexhelm, concerning whom, see chap. xxxiv. p. 670.

Chap. LIV.[1]—About King William, who desired to investigate whether the Body of the blessed Cuthbert really rested at Durham; and how he was punished and put to flight.

Some time after this, the king of whom we have been speaking came into Durham, along with his army, upon their return from Scotland, and made strict inquiry whether the body of the blessed Cuthbert rested there; and although all exclaimed aloud, and with oaths, that such was the case, yet he would not believe the statement. He determined therefore to bring the matter to an ocular demonstration, for he had in his retinue certain bishops and abbots who, at his command, would settle the question. He had already come to the resolution, that if the holy body were not discovered there, he would order all the chief of the nobility and of the elder people to be beheaded. So while all were in great consternation, and were imploring God's mercy through the merits of St. Cuthbert, the aforesaid bishop having celebrated mass upon the festival of All Saints [1st Nov.], the king, just as he was on the eve of carrying into execution the intention which he had formed in his mind, was suddenly seized with an excessive heat, the intensity of which so oppressed him that he could scarce endure it. He hastened therefore to leave the church, and paying no attention to a magnificent entertainment which had been provided for him, he hurriedly mounted his horse, and did not draw bridle until he had reached the river Tees. Hence it is evident that St. Cuthbert, one of God's great confessors, rests there, and that the king was not permitted by God to injure the people.

Chap. LV.[2]—How King William sent Ralph to levy a Tribute upon the land of St. Cuthbert; and how St. Cuthbert avenged himself by making the man crazy, and how he was restored; and of the Privileges granted by King William.

Not long after this the king despatched thither a man, named Ralph, for the purpose of compelling the saint's people to pay tribute to the king. They did not relish this, nor were they inclined to submit to new customs; and they took care to seek the aid of St. Cuthbert, who was always ready to help them in the hour of their adversity. On the night preceding the day on which the tribute was to be imposed, the blessed Cuthbert stood before this

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xix.

[2] Id. book III. chap. xx.

Ralph in a vision; he struck him with the pastoral staff which he held in his hand, and with the authority which became a bishop, and with a threatening countenance, he rebuked him for venturing to come there to afflict his people; adding, that he should not presume to do this unpunished, and that unless he returned immediately, a worse thing would overtake him. When he awoke from his sleep, he found himself unable to arise from his bed, so great was the weakness which held him back. He at once told all what he had seen and heard; and he humbly entreated them to intercede for him with the holy confessor, promising that he would never at any future time take such liberties with the saint's people, if he might escape with his life upon this occasion. Sending, therefore, a pall to his sepulchre, (which gift is preserved to the present day in this church as a memorial of the incident,) he promised that he would become a faithful servant to him and his, if he would condescend for this once to remit the sin and its punishment. However, as his infirmity increased, he caused himself to be carried upon his litter through various parts of the bishopric, confessing his transgression in the presence of all the people, and showing how it had been punished. This man, as long as he continued within the districts belonging to the bishopric, was continually afflicted with a severe disease; but as soon as he departed from them, and had begun to return homewards, he immediately recovered of his infirmity.

St. Cuthbert having exhibited these and other miracles, king William always held the holy confessor and his church in great veneration, and honoured them with royal gifts, and augmented them with landed possessions. For this king restored to the church Billingham, which, as we have already stated,[1] bishop Ecgred had founded, and given to St. Cuthbert, and which had been withdrawn by the violence of wicked men; and gave it, quit and free from all external customary payment, as a perpetual possession, for the salvation of himself and his sons, to provide food for those who ministered to St. Cuthbert in the church. Moreover, he, by his own assent and authority, confirmed the laws and customs of the saint, which had been established by the direction of ancient kings, and commanded that they should be carefully observed by all.

CHAP. LVI.[2]—HOW ALDWIN OF WINCELCUMB AND TWO BRETHREN OF EOVESHAM CAME INTO NORTHUMBERLAND, AND HOW THEY WERE RECEIVED BY BISHOP WALCHER, AND WHAT FRUIT THEY BORE.

AT this period there was a man named Aldwin, who was a presbyter of the province of the Mercians, and prior of the monastery situated at Wincelcumbe, a monk in dress and conduct, who gave the preference to voluntary poverty and disregard to the world over all temporal honours and riches whatever. He had understood from the History of the Angles that the province of the Northumbrians had formerly been peopled with numerous bands of monks, and many troops of saints, who, while in the flesh, lived not after the flesh, but rejoiced in devoting themselves even while upon earth, to a heavenly conversation. These places, that is, the sites of these monasteries, he earnestly desired to visit, although he well knew that the monasteries themselves were reduced to ruins; and he wished, in imitation of such persons, to lead a life of poverty. So he came to the monastery of Eovesham, and explained his wishes to some of the brethren, two of whom he forthwith associated with himself in carrying out the object he had in view. Elfwy, one of these, was a deacon, but he afterwards became a priest; the other, who could not read, was named Reinfrid. Their abbot would not give them permission to depart, except upon the condition that Aldwin should previously assume the rule over them, and should undertake the charge of their souls. So the three monks set out together upon foot; taking with them one ass only, which carried the books and priestly vestments which they required for the celebration of the divine mystery. Their first place of residence was upon the northern bank of the river Tyne, at a place named Munecaceastre,[1] which signifies, The city of the monks: a locality which, although it belongs to the bishopric of Durham, is nevertheless under the jurisdiction of the earl of Northumbria. Wherefore, the venerable bishop Walcher sent for them with the request that they would come to him, and that they would do better were they to accept a residence under the jurisdiction of the church, rather than to remain under the secular power. When they arrived, he received them with great respect and joy, and returned hearty thanks to God for that he had been honoured by having men of the monastic profession take up their abode within this province, and under his sway. So he gave them the monastery of the blessed apostle Paul, which had been erected at Jarrow by its former abbot Benedict, the unroofed walls of which were alone standing, and they exhibited scarce any vestige of their ancient dignity. Upon those walls they reared a covering formed of unhewn timbers, with hay upon them, and there they began to celebrate the offices of divine service. Beneath the walls they erected a little hovel in which they slept, and took their food, and thus they sustained, by the alms of the religious, a life of poverty. There, for the sake of Christ, they took up their abode in the midst of cold, and hunger, and the want of all things; they, who might have had every abundance in the monasteries which they had deserted. In the meantime many persons were influenced by their example to abandon the world, to accept from them the monastic garb; and so they learned to become the soldiers of Christ under the discipline of an institution according to rule. A few of these were from Northumberland itself, but the greater proportion were from the southern parts of England; and they, following the example of Abraham, leaving their land, and their kindred, and the house of their fathers, earnestly desired to become possessors of the land of promise, that is, of the kingdom of heaven. Aldwin was an instructor to them in this religious conversation, for he was one who thoroughly despised the world, most humble in dress and disposition, patient in adversity, modest in prosperity, acute in intellect, provident in counsel, weighty in word and deed, a companion of the lowly, remarkable for the zeal of his justice against the stubborn, always yearning after heavenly things, and as far as he was able endeavouring to influence others in the same direction.

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[1] See chap. xx. p. 653.

[2] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xxi.

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[1] Afterwards called Newcastle.

So when the bishop noticed that the number of the servants of God was on the increase day by day, and that the lamp of monastic life, which had been quenched for so many years in these districts, was once more enkindled by their exertions in his time, he gave thanks to God, and rejoiced exceedingly, and extended to them his solicitude as a bishop and his affection as a father. Observing that their desire was to rebuild the church, and to restore the dwellings of the monks which had been destroyed, he gave them the vill of Jarrow, with its appurtenants, namely, Preostun, Munecatun, Heathewurthe, Heabyrn, Wyvestou, and Heortedun, in order that they might complete their works, and live in comfort. Thus Christ the Shepherd gathered these men from various localities into one sheepfold, teaching them how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.

CHAP. LVII.[1]—OF THE BROTHER WHO WENT ON A PILGRIMAGE TO STRENESHALCH; AND OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED MARY AT YORK; AND HOW WALCHER ONCE MORE RECALLED ALDWIN, AND GAVE THEM WIREMUTHE AND SOME OTHER LANDS.

BUT when Aldwine, the servant of Christ, had now brought forth some fruit in this place, as we have described, he had a wish to visit certain other localities, that in them he might accomplish works of the same nature. So, having placed over the brethren a prior chosen by themselves, he departed from that place, leaving behind him Elfwin, the companion of his former pilgrimage, of whom we have already made mention.[2] He was a man who deserved to be had in remembrance for the simplicity and innocence of his life, and for his constancy in prayers and tears. Their third associate—I mean, Reinfrid—went to Streoneshalch, (which is now called Hwitebi,) in which place he received such persons as came to him, and began to frame a habitation for monks; who, after his death, migrating to York, built a monastery in honour of St. Mary the ever-virgin, which at this time is under the efficient administration of abbot Stephen. But as for Aldwin, when he left the monastery of Jarrow, he took with him, as the companion of his journey and enterprise, one Turgot, at that time a cleric as to his dress, but even then a follower of the monastic life in heart and deed. He came to Durham, and was kindly received by the bishop, who, when he knew his intention, despatched him to the monastery of which we have already spoken; in which he, although a cleric, resided amongst the monks, under the superintendence of Aldwin. For he did not venture to assume the monastic dress before he had made proof of himself by a longer and stricter examination.

[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xxii.

[2] In the last chapter, p. 693.

[He it is who, having succeeded his master Aldwin in the office of prior in the church of Durham, retains that dignity, formerly entrusted to him by bishop William, even to the present day.[1]]

Having followed his master when he departed from the monastery, as we have already mentioned, this man was his constant and inseparable companion. They came to Melrose, which had formerly been a monastery, but was at that time a solitude; and, charmed by the seclusion of the spot, they began there to serve Christ. But Malcolm, the king of the Scots, to whom that place belonged, as soon as he was made aware that they had established themselves there, inflicted on them many injuries and persecutions; since they, observing the precept of the gospel, refused to swear fidelity to him.

In the mean season, the venerable bishop Walcher sent frequent letters and messages to them, in which he entreated, advised, and adjured them,—and at length threatened that he and all the clergy and people would excommunicate them in the presence of the most holy body of St. Cuthbert, unless they would return to him, and dwell under the protection of that saint. Dreading that excommunication much more than the anger of the king, who threatened them with death, (for they were quite prepared for death,) they abandoned that spot, and returned to the bishop. He at once assigned to them the monastery of the blessed apostle Peter, in Wearmouth, which had formerly been a noble and august fabric, as it is described by Beda, who had resided in it from his infancy; but at the period of which we are speaking, its original state could scarce be traced, in consequence of the ruinous condition of the buildings. Here they erected some little habitations of wattle-work, and strove to teach all whom they could influence how to enter in with them at the strait gate, and to walk in the narrow path which leadeth to life. There Aldwin conferred the monastic habit upon Turgot; and as he loved him very dearly as a brother in Christ, he instructed him, by his word and example, how to bear Christ's easy yoke. The bishop, embracing them with familiar affection, frequently invited Aldwin to come, that he might have some conversation with him; and sometimes, taking these persons into counsel with him, he very graciously condescended to obey their suggestions. He endowed them with the vill of Wearmouth, to which his successor, named William, added Suthewic, which is immediately contiguous; with the intention that he, and the brethren who were with him, might continue to serve Christ in that spot without any great difficulty. For some persons came thither from even the very remotest parts of England, for the purpose of spending a monastic life along with them; and so they learned how to serve Christ with one heart and one soul. Then they took pains to clear out the church of St. Peter, nothing more than the half-ruined walls of which were at this time standing; and they cut down the trees, and rooted up the thorns and brambles, which had taken possession of the whole site. When they had done this, and roofed it with thatch, as it now appears, they had done their best to make it fitting for the performance of divine services.

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[1] This passage enclosed within brackets, having been removed from the Durham copy (in which there is an erasure of three lines and a half), is here supplied from the Cottonian MS.

We may reckon that two hundred and eight years had passed from the time when the pagans had ruined the churches, and destroyed and burnt down the monasteries, in the province of the Northumbrians, until the third year of the pontificate of Walcher, when the monastic mode of life began to revive in that province, upon the arrival of Aldwin. Thus, under the protection of the bishop, the monks led a peaceable and a quiet life; and he, like a most loving father, condescended to cherish them with the greatest affection, frequently visited them personally, and liberally bestowed upon them whatever they required. It was his intention, had he survived longer, to have himself become one of their order, and to have given a firm footing to the monks near the sacred body of St. Cuthbert. With this design, he commenced the foundations of the monastic buildings as they now exist at Durham; but, alas! death anticipated his plans, and he did not carry them into execution; for the accomplishment of this was reserved for his successor, as we shall have occasion to recount in the sequel.

CHAP. LVIII.[1]—OF THE BISHOP'S ACQUISITIONS; AND OF THE SAVAGE PLUNDERING PERPETRATED BY HIS MEN; AND OF THE THINGS WHICH WERE SEEN AND PREDICTED CONCERNING THE BISHOP AND MANY OF HIS FOLLOWERS, BY A PERSON WHO WAS RESTORED TO LIFE AFTER HAVING BEEN DEAD.

THE firmness of this bishop Walcher not only did not permit any damage to occur in regard to the possessions of the church, but, further, he augmented them by obtaining from the king that valuable property called Waltham, along with its noble church, celebrated for its body of canons. He also had the management of the earldom of Northumberland when the king seized upon earl Waltheof. Of a truth, he was a man worthily beloved by all for the honesty of his life and the sobriety and gentleness of his disposition; but yet he displeased the natives by permitting his followers unrestrainedly to do whatever they pleased, nor did he curb them when they even acted wrongfully. And further, his archdeacon[2] swept away from the church many of its ornaments, and much of its money, and distributed them amongst his own friends and relations. And again, his soldiers carried themselves with excessive insolence towards the people, frequently plundered them by force, and they even killed some of the more influential of them. These ill-deeds of theirs the bishop neglected to punish; nor did he restrain them by the authority of his episcopal office, but just as Eli died for the sins of his children, so was this man put to death for the transgressions of his people, and they and he died together upon the same day.

Shortly before his death, there occurred in the province of Northumberland a miracle, which closely resembles one described by Beda, in his History of the Angles,[3] as having happened a iously,—the restoration of a man to life after having his man, Eadulf by name, (who resided at no great Durham, in a vill called Raeveneswurthe,[1]) fell sick, e Saturday evening, but he returned to life before the next morning; and, by suddenly sitting up, he people who were watching by the supposed corpse, to flight. But as they were running away, he called nd said: "Do not be afraid; of a truth I have arisen sign yourselves and the house with the sign of the soon as he had said this, a countless multitude of little shed through the door from the outside of the house, and room in which they were sitting; and they flew backwards rwards in such a troublesome manner, as almost to dash in the very faces of the beholders. So the deacon the priest had despatched thither when he himself had to the church) ran and sprinkled them and the house with water; and immediately all that ghastly multitude of birds like smoke from before their eyes. The man who had the dead related several things respecting the joys of the and the punishment of the damned, which he had seen nt from the body. He also stated that he had recognised f his former acquaintance, who were rejoicing along with ed ones in flowery abodes; and he announced that for some who were still alive, the eternal torments of hell were in ation. One of these was Waltheof, who afterwards was the ator of the bishop's murder, of whom he spoke thus, when he recounting what he had seen respecting him: "Woe to this !—woe to him!" said he; "for him there is prepared a lling-place in the midst of the furnace of hell. There is waiting him an iron chair, glowing with eternal fire; the crackling rks which fly off from it on all sides are thrown out from inex-guishable flames. On each side of it there are standing terrible tendants—I mean, evil spirits,—holding chains of iron; and ere ng they will place Waltheof on that seat, and bind the miserable wretch down upon it with fetters, which cannot be broken, of fire unquenchable." When he had said this, he inquired where were the bishop, and his archdeacon, and their followers. When he was told that they were in Durham, he replied: "All of them are already dead; the bishop is even now dead, and all his retainers, who were so puffed up with pride, are as though they had never existed." Those who were sitting around him, well knowing that the bishop and his friends were safe, thought that, in so speaking, he was wandering in his mind; but he once more addressed them, and said; "I am in my sane senses, and you shall have proof that I am so, by finding the truth of what I tell you. If I die either before or after the third day next ensuing, be you well assured that all that you have heard is false; but if I die upon that third day, then you shall know for a certainty that I have spoken the truth." So upon that third day he departed; and, not long afterwards, all that he had beforehand announced really came to pass: for the sudden slaughter of the bishop and his retinue established its truth. And that miserable wretch, (Waltheof, I mean,) for whose reception he had seen so many infernal torments prepared, after the murder of the good bishop, was himself slain by his wife's brother, and so passed to the pains of hell.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xxiii.

[2] His name was Leobwin, or Leofwin. See Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 301.

[3] E. H. V. xii. § 389.

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[1] New Ravensworth, a little to the south-west of Gateshead.

CHAP. LIX.[1]—HOW AND WHERE BISHOP WALCHER WAS KILLED AND BURIED, AND HOW HE WAS AVENGED; AND HOW THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED CUTHBERT WAS PLUNDERED.

BUT let us give a connected narrative of the means by which this accursed murder of the bishop was perpetrated.

A day had been appointed upon which peace and concord should be established between the two parties—I mean, the bishop's soldiers, who had inflicted the injuries, and those persons who had sustained them. The bishop and his retainers assembled at a place called Gateshead, where all the elders, and a very large concourse of the people who dwell beyond the Tyne, had met together, having banded together for an evil purpose. In order to avoid the crowd, the bishop entered into the little church belonging to the place, where he summoned the chief men from among the people to meet him, that they might discuss arrangements for the advantage of both parties, and for mutual concord. When this had been done, and whilst the bishop, with a very few of his followers, remained within the church, all those who had been summoned thither had gone out of it, as if for the purpose of deliberation. Shortly after this, the riotous crowd raised a shout, and then all on the sudden the work of death was begun, without the least regard being paid to humanity. Some of the bishop's soldiers, entirely unsuspicious of evil, sitting or reclining apart from each other, were quickly surrounded and killed; others coming up set fire to the church; others, with drawn swords and brandished spears, stood at the door in knots, and suffered none to go out alive; for those who were within, being unable any longer to endure the violence of the flames, having humbly confessed their sins and received the bishop's benediction before going out, were immediately put to death while they were in the act of crossing the threshold. Last of all the bishop continued, suffering in his heart sorrows more intolerable than death itself. It was insupportable for him to see his friends put to death before his eyes, along with his priests and deacons, and to know that neither would his enemies spare his own life. In the meantime, he was in a strait between two kinds of death, and which of them to choose he knew not. On the one side the flames drove him upon the weapons of the enemy, and the weapons of the enemy drove him back again into the flames. The longer the delay, the greater was the misery; whatever hastened the approach of death seemed to mitigate its bitterness. Unable any longer to endure the cruel intensity of the raging flames, he recommended his soul in prayer to God, and going towards the door, he made the sign of the cross with his fingers; and having covered his eyes and his head with the pall in which he was at that time robed, he was pierced through, upon the very threshold, alas! alas! with lances; and even his dead body was stricken with numerous wounds, for such was their brutal ferocity, that not even his death could satisfy them. This murder of the bishop, which all must detestate, occurred on the day before the ides of May [14th May], upon the fifth day of the week before Rogation Sunday, after he had held the see for nine years and two months.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book III. chap. xxiv.

When the intelligence of his death reached the brethren of the monastery of Jarrow, they embarked in a little boat and sailed to the spot; and having discovered the corpse of the bishop, (which they had difficulty in recognising, in consequence of the abundance of the wounds by which it had been disfigured,) they placed it, stripped as it was of every covering, within their vessel, and they carried it back with great grief to their monastery: it was conveyed from thence to Durham, where it was interred with a funeral less honourable than became a bishop; for, immediately after this abominable slaughter, his murderers had come thither, and were raging up and down the city, intending to storm the castle, and put to death such of the bishop's retainers as still survived. But they defended themselves manfully, and the assailants, worn out with their ineffectual efforts, and having lost some of their number, raised the siege upon the fourth day, and departed in various directions; and all those persons, whom the murder of the bishop had made objects of detestation both to God and man, either died by some kind of violent death, or, abandoning their homes and property, wandered in exile in foreign lands.

As soon as the intelligence of this transaction was circulated, Odo, bishop of Baieux, who was second only to the king, and many of the chief nobles of the kingdom, came to Durham, with a large body of troops, and, in revenging the bishop's death, they reduced nearly the whole land into a wilderness. The miserable inhabitants who, trusting in their innocence, had remained in their homes, were either beheaded as criminals, or mutilated by the loss of some of their members. False accusations were brought against some of them, in order that they might purchase their safety and their life by money. Moreover, the aforesaid bishop had removed some of the ornaments of the church, one of which was a pastoral staff, of marvellous material and workmanship, for it was made of sapphire; and this, having been deposited in the castle, which was made a garrison for the troops, speedily vanished.

Chap. LX.[1]—How Bishop William was elected and consecrated; and of his great Learning, Goodness, and Kindness

Six months and ten days having passed after the murder of bishop Walcher, in the fifteenth year of the reign of William, that king himself elected the abbot of the monastery of the holy martyr Vincent, by name William; and the rule of the bishopric of the church of Durham was entrusted to him upon the fifth of the ides of November [9th Nov.]. His ordination did not take place until some little time afterwards, that is to say, until the third of the nones of January [3d Jan. A.D. 1081], being the octaves of St. John the Evangelist, and a Sunday, when it was solemnly performed by Thomas, archbishop of York, in the presence of the king and of all the bishops of England. This William when a youth was one of the clerks of the church of Baieux, and afterwards followed his father into the monastery of St. Carilif, in which he had become an inmate some time previously. Having thus assumed the habit of a monk, he was regarded as one who was especially remarkable above all his fellows for his love and devotion towards the monastic order, and thus he was gradually promoted until he attained the higher offices. For, first, he was prior of the cloister; then he became the chief prior, inferior only to the abbot; then he was elected to be abbot of the monastery which was contiguous to the aforesaid martyr. No long time afterwards, the king of whom we have been speaking, having had frequent experience of his skill in the management of affairs of difficulty, promoted him, by God's direction, to the episcopal office, as has been stated; for he was well adapted to discharge the duties of a bishop—he was exceedingly well versed in sacred and secular learning, a very careful man of business, and so remarkable for good conduct, that he had no equal amongst his contemporaries in this respect. Moreover, such was the keenness of his intellect, that it would have been difficult to have produced the man who could give sounder advice. Along with this grace of wisdom, he was endowed with considerable eloquence; and so tenacious was his memory, that its power excited universal admiration. By his energy and prudence, he had recommended himself, not only to this king of the English and to the king of the French, but also to the apostolic pope. It was gratifying to them to receive a visit from such an individual as he was, and to listen to his discourse, which was no less wise than eloquent. He was moderate in eating and drinking; he always wore mean clothing; he was catholic in his faith, and was chaste in his body; and as he had been admitted to an intimate position near the king, it was his constant care to defend and protect the liberties of monasteries and churches to the utmost of his ability.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book IV. chap. i.

CHAP. LXI.[1]—HOW HE EJECTED THE CLERKS FROM THE CHURCH OF ST. CUTHBERT, AND INTRODUCED THE MONKS, WHOM WE HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED, BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE POPE AND THE KING.

WHEN he had obtained the episcopal see of St. Cuthbert by God's favour, he found that the land which belonged to it was nearly desolated, and he noticed that the locality which the presence of his sacred body made illustrious, was in a condition so neglected as to be by no means consistent with his sanctity. He discovered there neither monks of his own order, nor any canons regular. Deeply grieved at this state of things, he earnestly and constantly entreated God and St. Cuthbert that they would aid him first in deliberating how these irregularities were to be amended, and then in carrying his deliberations into execution. He inquired of the seniors and the more prudent men of the whole bishopric, what was the arrangement which prevailed at the beginning, when St. Cuthbert's episcopal see was in the island of Lindisfarne; and the answer which they made him was, that in life and after death he was attended upon by monks; and this their statement was supported by the history of his life, and the Ecclesiastical History of the Angles. A considerable period after this, a cruel inroad of the barbarians having devastated not only this spot, as we have already mentioned, but many other places likewise, the illustrious inmates of that monastery all died a cruel death. Yet not without punishment; for shortly afterwards all these sacrilegious barbarians were fearfully stricken with the just anger of God, and were carried off from this world to the eternal torments of the next. Having attained this information, his object was to restore the service which had originally been appropriated to that sacred body; and in order that no one should hereafter set aside his arrangements upon the plea that they were his own private acts, he herein asked the advice of king William, and his wife queen Matilda, and Landfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. Anxious that a design of such utility should obtain general approbation, the king lost no time in despatching him to pope Gregory, to consult with him not only upon this particular piece of business, but upon some other matters, with the management of which he entrusted him. When the archbishop had recounted to the pope a few out of the many proofs of the sanctity of the blessed father Cuthbert, the project met with his entire approval, that is to say, that he should unite into one establishment the monks whom he had discovered in those two places within his episcopate, Wearmouth and Jarrow; and that they should henceforth form one single congregation around the body of the saint; for the small extent of the diocese did not afford room for these monastic establishments. Having most devoutly confirmed this by his apostolic authority,[1] he despatched letters by the aforesaid bishop to king William[2] and archbishop Landfranc,[3] in which he bestowed his blessing upon them, and such others as should aid and assist in this laudable enterprise; and hurling his eternal anathema against whosoever should attempt to thwart it, unless they repented and made fitting satisfaction. When the king heard that the pope had assented in this wise he was no little rejoiced, and he gave his licence for its accomplishment, which was attested by queen Matilda, archbishop Landfranc, and his barons; and besides this, he commanded the bishop to carry it into effect. In addition to all this, he made a second confirmation of the laws of St. Cuthbert, which he had already ratified and established before his holy body, restoring them to the efficacy which they had at any time before possessed under the most favourable circumstances.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book IV. chap. ii.

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[1] Gregory's bull, by which he confirmed the possessions and liberties of the Church of Durham, is printed in the Appendix to the Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, p. vii. ed. 1839.

[2] Id. p. xiv.

[3] Id. p. x.

Chap. LXII.[1]—Concerning the Day and Period at which the Bishop brought the Monks into Durham, and how he gave them his Blessing, and assigned to each his own several Post of Duty.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation, ten hundred and eighty-three, being the three hundred and ninety-seventh from the death of the father Cuthbert, the eighty-ninth from the translation of his incorrupt body to Durham by bishop Aldhun, the eighteenth of the reign of king William, the tenth from the arrival of Aldwin with his two companions in the province of Northumberland, and the third of the episcopate of bishop William, on Friday, the seventh of the kalends of June,[2] this bishop already mentioned conducted into Durham the monks[3] which he had collected from these two monasteries, that is to say, from the monasteries of the apostles Peter and Paul, at Wearmouth and Jarrow. On the third day afterwards, that is, upon the holy day of Whitsunday,[4] they were introduced into the church of St. Cuthbert, and there the command of the apostolic pope, given by the authority of the blessed Peter the chief of the apostles, was exhibited to the assembled multitudes,[5] who were also informed that it had the approbation of the most excellent king William. When this had been done, the bishop recommended these monks to Mary the most blessed mother of God, and to his most holy patron Cuthbert, and delivered over the church to them, and them to the church. Next, in the midst of the solemnization of the mass,—following the custom of those who profess the monastic usages,—he gave his blessing to those persons who had promised that they would fix their residence in this place, and he bound them by a link which could not be severed to the body of the most holy father Cuthbert. And as for those individuals who had hitherto resided therein, (canons by name, but men who in no one respect followed the canonical rule,) them he commanded henceforth to lead a monastic life along with the monks, if they had any wish to continue their residence within the church. All of them preferred abandoning the church to retaining it upon such a condition, except one of their number, the dean, whose son, a monk, had difficulty in persuading him to follow his own example.[6] . . . .

Three days after the monks had made their profession, the bishop, having summoned a general meeting of their body, apportioned out to such of them as appeared to be the steadiest and most prudent, the various monastic offices or duties, to the discharge of which each of them appeared to be severally the best adapted. This he did with discretion and under the fear of God, by the general consent of the whole body. Beginning in regular succession from the head, that is, the altar, he assigned to one of them, named Leofwin, a prudent man, and one who especially feared God, the care of the church and of the incorrupt body of St. Cuthbert, and him he appointed sacristan. Then he entrusted Aldwin (of whose prudence, discretion, moderation, and good habits he was well assured) with the care and management, external and internal, of the whole monastery; and he decided that nothing should be done without his advice and superintendence. Next, he severed with the greatest precision the landed property of the monks from those which belonged to himself, exempting them from all service due to the bishop, and making them free and quit of all customary payments, to supply them with food and raiment; for it was an ancient usage in the church, that they who ministered to God before the body of St. Cuthbert, should have their own lands distinct from those which belonged to the bishop. Therefore it was that (as we have already stated[1]) king William, upon a previous occasion, had assigned Billingham to them; and now again, when the monks came to Durham, did he make a second grant[2] to them of that vill and its adjuncts, for the special service of providing food for those persons who ministered in the church to God and St. Cuthbert: and this he did for the salvation of himself and his sons. The bishop also contributed a small donation of land to the monks; but he and the king had made joint arrangements for the sufficient provision of the inmates with food and raiment, that there might be no want, no pinching, while they were serving Christ; and these he was about to convey to them, when the accomplishment of this design was interrupted by the death, first of the king, and then of the bishop.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book IV. chap. iii

[2] Namely, Friday, 26th May, being the festival of St. Augustin of Canterbury.

[3] Here, in the Durham MS. a few words have been erased, which the Cottonian copy supplies by stating that the number of the monks, when they took possession of the new buildings, was twenty-three.

[4] Sunday, 28th May.

[5] This bull, dated the eighth of the ides of January, A.D. 1083, is printed in the collection already cited, p. vii.

[6] Here, in the Durham MS., occurs a hiatus of twenty lines, to supply which Twysden's text affords no assistance. A modern hand has added a few lines, of which the following is a translation:—"It is stated that the prebends of Aukland, Darlington, Norton, and Ekington, and no others, were assigned by the Pope to these canons to provide them with the means of continual support."

CHAP. LXIII.[3]—OF THE BODY OF ST. OSWIN; AND OF THE POSSESSION OF THE CHURCH OF TYNEMOUTHE, AND HOW IT WAS TAKEN AWAY BY VIOLENCE.

WHILST the monks were still resident at Jarrow, they had become possessed of the church of St. Oswin, in Tynemuthe, by the donation of the earls of Northumberland;[4] whence it came to pass, that they translated into their own church of St. Paul's the bones of St. Oswin, and kept them there for a long time; but they were afterwards conveyed to their primitive depository. And in the time of this said bishop William, the earl of Northumberland named Albrius[5] renewed this donation, and assigned this church with its priest to the church of St. Cuthbert, as a possession to be held in perpetuity. When it had now continued for fifteen years deserted and unroofed, the monks restored it, by thatching it over, and kept it in possession for three years. But after Albrius had been succeeded in the earldom by Robert de Mulbrei, the latter drove the monks of St. Cuthbert from the church, in consequence of a feud which existed between himself and the bishop; and he gave it to Paul,[1] the abbot of the monastery of St. Alban the Martyr. This abbot was frequently admonished, entreated, yea, warned by the monks of Durham, not to invade another man's property; but he gave no heed—nay, he all the more pertinaciously sent his own people to reside there. Not long afterwards, he himself followed them; but he was seized with a sudden fit of illness, and as he was endeavouring to return home, he died.[2] The earl, also, lost his entire property, his honour, and his liberty, in that very church of which he had plundered St. Cuthbert.[3]

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[1] See chap. lv. p. 692.

[2] The charter of donation is printed in the Appendix already cited, p. xx.

[3] In Twysden's edition, book IV. chap. iv.

[4] A various reading, furnished by the Cottonian MS., states that the donor was bishop Walcher, while he held the government of the earldom.

[5] This Alberic (a Norman, who was constituted earl by king William, concerning whom see Dugd. Baron. i. 56) was not the donor of Tynemouth, as is shown by existing charters, which prove that it was the gift of earl Waltheof. See the Appendix to the Three Durham Historians already quoted, pp. xviii. xix., and Illustration [D].

Chap. LXIV.[4]—Of the Acquisitions made by Bishop William, and how he conducted himself towards those who were under him.

This bishop William never at any time took anything from the church—nay, on the contrary, so far from doing so, his study was to add to its possessions, and to adorn it with precious ornaments of various kinds. By his energy and prudence, under God's assistance, he so defended and preserved the rights, laws, and privileges of the church, that, during his lifetime, they could neither be infringed nor violated by any person whatever. For there were certain lands respecting which there had been a constant strife between the bishop of Durham and the earl of Northumberland; and yet he left these to the church so entirely free and quit, that from that time forward no one, save the bishop alone, either ought or could demand from them any customs; and this the charters of the church prove. As a loving father deals with his sons who are dearest to him, so did he protect and cherish the monks, ruling them with the greatest discretion. Whether he chid them or praised them, he was so endeared to them all, that neither did his severity degenerate into harshness, nor his gentleness into laxity; but the one was so tempered by the other, that his severity was gentle, and his gentleness severe. He loved them much, and much did they love him. His exhortations to them were chiefly to this effect—that they should respect their habit and observe their order. This he himself took care to do constantly; when present, by his words; when absent, by his letters. This his diligence, this his anxiety, are attested by those letters of holy admonition of his which are preserved in this church, as a memorial of him, even to the present day; for when the king's affairs prevented him from visiting them personally, he despatched letters to them, some of which it may be expedient to insert in this place.

[1] See the Vitæ Vigintitrium S. Albani Abbatum, by M. Paris, p. 51, ed. fol. Lond. 1640.

[2] He died on the third of the ides of November, 1093. Id. p. 53.

[3] Robert de Mowbray was taken prisoner at Tynemouth, the particulars of which may be seen in Dugd. Monast. i. 46, and Dugd. Baron. i. 57.

[4] In Twysden's edition, book IV. chap. v.

CHAP. LXV.[1]—A LETTER OF BISHOP WILLIAM TO THE MONKS OF DURHAM.

"WILLIAM, bishop of Durham, to his brethren in Christ, and to his sons, the monks of Durham, sends greeting, and the blessing which giveth life.

"I am persuaded that you will believe me to be in earnest, when I tell you how sorry I am that I cannot tarry with you, as indeed I ought to do; but in what place soever, or in what business soever, I may be sinfully employed, my spirit turns back to you, and there finds peace and joy. My prayer is that you, for your part, would daily think upon my misfortunes, and that you would strengthen my weakness with your devout prayers and alms. Do this of your charity, and do it without grutching. This much, however, I command and entreat you, that you would increase more and more in fervent love towards your order; and on no account, under no pressure, permit your order to wane, and spare none of your number who do so. When in the church, chant the psalms and other services, not hurriedly, but decently and in order. Make confession frequently to the prior; let all attend the chapter, all without exception, save only the sick, and those persons who are regularly engaged in such business as takes them abroad. And since at this present time I cannot say to you what I should wish to do, let this letter be read once each week in the chapter, in order that you may observe more strictly what it enjoins, and recommend me to God all the more earnestly when you hear me addressing you. And since charity covereth a multitude of sins, have true charity, not only towards pilgrims and wayfarers, but also towards all sorts and conditions of men. By these, and such like good works, God will cause you to live in safety in this present life, and give you to inherit eternal glory in eternity, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever."

CHAP. LXVI.[2]—ABOUT THE DEATH OF PRIOR ALDWIN, AND THE SUCCESSION OF TURGOT.

IN the year of our Lord's incarnation ten hundred and eighty-seven, when the fourth year of the residence of the monks in Durham had nearly come to a termination, the venerable prior Aldwin ended this present life, on the day before the ides of April [12th April], in the fourteenth year after he had first come into the province of the Northumbrians. The bishop and the brethren deeply bewailed his decease, for he was a good man and a modest; by his prudence and counsel, he was very necessary to the welfare of the church; and in whatever matter he undertook, he was exceedingly solicitous not to offend God. His merits are such as to demand that the monks of Durham shall make unceasing mention of him in their prayers; for he was their forerunner into the province, in which, guided by his example and instruction, they have become the servants of Christ. By the general advice of the brethren, the bishop appointed as his successor in the office of prior, one who had been his disciple, namely, Turgot; and enjoined him to rule the whole monastery, as well within as without, in the fear of God.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book IV. chap. vi.

[2] Id. book IV. chap. vii.

In the same year in which Aldwin died, died also king William, upon the fifth of the ides of September [9th Sept.], five weeks before the completion of the twenty-second year of his reign, and left the sceptre to his son William.

CHAP. LXVII.[1]—OF THE EXILE OF BISHOP WILLIAM, AND HOW HE LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW MONASTERY IN DURHAM.

THE bishop of whom we have been speaking enjoyed for a time the familiar friendship of the new king, as he had previously done that of his father; so much so, indeed, that he gave him Alverton with its adjuncts.[2] But, no long period after this, a dispute arose between them, through the machinations of others;[3] and the bishop, withdrawing from his episcopate, passed the sea, and having been welcomed by the earl of Normandy, he spent the three years of his residence with him in great honour, not as an exile, but as a father. The monks of Durham, being thus deprived of the comfort of the presence of their bishop, were apprehensive that they would encounter many adversities, and that they would find no one to assist them; whereas, exactly contrary to this, they were so protected by God, through the merits of St. Cuthbert, that they were endamaged by no calamities, and found by their own experience that the king was sufficiently gentle towards them. For, although his conduct towards other monasteries and churches was ferocious, not only did he not deprive them of any portion of their property, but he even contributed to it from his own, and, like his father, defended them from the injuries of the oppressor. Moreover, when the prior came to him, he humbly arose to meet him, received him kindly, and enjoined him freely to exercise due care over the church in all things, as if he were its bishop.

At this time the monks built the refectory, as it appears at present.

In the third year of the bishop's expulsion, whilst the king's followers were being besieged within a certain castle in Normandy, of which they formed the garrison, and were just about to be taken prisoners, the bishop delivered them from the danger, and by his advice the siege was raised. Hereupon the king was pacified, and restored him all his former possessions in England. He did not return home empty-handed, but took care to despatch to the church, before he came himself, many sacred vessels for the altar, and diverse ornaments of gold and silver, as well as several books. Not long after this, he gave directions that the then existing fabric should be pulled down, in the ninety-eighth year after it had been founded by Aldhun; and in the ensuing year, he laid the foundations of a fabric much larger and more noble, which he intended to erect. It was commenced upon Thursday, the third of the ides of August [11th Aug.], in the year of our Lord's incarnation ten hundred and ninety-three, being the thirteenth year of the pontificate of the said William, and the eleventh after the monks had taken up their abode at Durham. Upon that day, the bishop and prior Turgot (who was the second in authority after the bishop in the church), and the other brethren, laid the first foundation stones. A short time before this, upon Friday, the fourth of the kalends of August [29th July], the same bishop and prior, after they had joined in prayer with the brethren, and given them their benediction, had begun to dig the foundations. There, whilst the monks were building their own offices, the bishop carried on the works of the church at his own expense. At the same time he led forth the said prior Turgot, in the presence of the population of the whole episcopate, and delegated to him his authority over them, to this effect,—that, taking upon him the office of the archdeaconry, he should thereby have the charge of the Christianity of the entire diocese; and he further decided, that all those who succeeded him in the office of prior should also be his successor in that of the archdeaconry. This he did not do without authority and precedent; for we read in the Life of St. Cuthbert,[1] that when the blessed Boisil was provost of the monastery, it was his constant custom to go out of it and to preach to the people. On his decease, his blessed disciple—Cuthbert, I mean,—succeeded him in the office of provost, which is the same as that of prior; for the individual whom we now style prior is called "provost of the monastery" by the blessed Benedict.[2] So the father Cuthbert imitated the example of his master, and was in the frequent habit of leaving the monastery, and not returning to it sometimes for a whole week, sometimes for two or even three, and occasionally for an entire month; but he remained in the mountainous districts, by his preaching and powerful example calling the rustic population to think of heavenly things. Hence the bishop was induced to make the arrangement, that whosoever should succeed St. Cuthbert in the church by filling the office of prior, should in like manner discharge the functions of a preacher, and take charge of the Christianity of the see.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book IV. chap. viii.

[2] See the charter printed in the Appendix to the Three Historians, p. xxii.

[3] Many additional and interesting details are given in the History of the unjust Persecution of the first Bishop William, inflicted by King William the son of the great King William, which occurs in this present volume, p. 731.

CHAP. LXVIII.[3]—OF THE VISION OF A KNIGHT NAMED BOSO, RESPECTING THE MONKS OF DURHAM; AND OF HIS PREDICTIONS CONCERNING THE DECEASE OF BISHOP WILLIAM.

AT this time there was one of the bishop's knights, named Boso, who, having been attacked with sickness, appeared to be at his last gasp; for there was only the slightest possible breathing from his mouth and nostrils during the three days in which he lay senseless, and like a dead man removed from the world; but, to the surprise of all, he returned to himself upon the third day. He said that he had seen many visions, but did not mention the details to any person until he had made the prior acquainted with their import, as, indeed, he had been commanded to do. So soon as he had regained his strength, he came to the prior in haste, and requested that he might have the opportunity of conversing with him in private. There he cast aside his garments, and fell at his feet, naked, carrying some rods in his hands; and then he exclaimed, with tears: "I am commanded to come to you, and to confess my sins to you, and to rule my life—which, however, will not be long—according to your directions. I entreat you, therefore, to receive my penance; and, through the medium of these stripes, convey healing to the wounds inflicted by my sins, that so I may escape the strictness of the future judgment of God." So he confessed his sins with many lamentations; and when he had received the penance, he recounted the narrative which follows:—

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[1] See chap. ix. § 15 of that work.

[2] Regula S. Benedicti, capp. lxiv. lxv.

[3] In Twysden's edition, book IV. chap. ix.

"I followed the guide, who led me through various places, of which some were terrible and some were pleasant. All the monks of this church were congregated in one spot, and before them was carried a cross worthy of veneration, from which a bright light emanated; and it was followed by all the monks in their vestments, singing, in solemn and regular procession, as is their usual custom. They all advanced in a regular order, without any deviation either to the right hand or the left, excepting two of their number only, who slightly diverged from the column; and the whole of this procession kept steadily advancing towards an exceedingly lofty wall which was opposite to them, and in which there was not the slightest appearance of either door or window. When I was meditating in my own mind, and wondering for what purpose they were going thither, since there was no entrance there, suddenly they all, I know not how, were inside the wall. I, however, was still on the outside, and looked round me, in the hope of noticing some mode of discovering what was passing inside; and at the last I perceived a very small window. Looking through it, I saw a field of considerable extent, beautiful by the variety of blooming flowers with which it was clad, and from which were exhaled odours of the most wonderful fragrance. My guide inquired if I could recognise who those persons were who were inside; and my reply was, that I had discovered that they were our own monks. He answered: 'Tell the prior to exhort them to the more diligent care of their souls; and specify to him by name who those two persons were, who, as you observed, left the column of the procession; for of a truth they are wandering not a little from the path of righteousness, and there is an especial necessity why they should make a cleaner confession of their sins, and hasten to lead a life of greater strictness; for hitherto they have never made a true and full confession of their sins.' So he led me to where I could observe all the inhabitants of this province assembled in a field of immense extent; they were mounted upon very fat horses, and (according to their usual custom) were carrying long spears; and as they tilted with these the one against the other, the shivering of the lances occasioned a considerable noise, and the riders swelled with pride.

Hereupon my guide asked me if I knew who these persons were; and my reply was, that I recognised first one, then another; and, lastly, that I could distinguish every single individual of their number. Whereupon he added, 'All these persons are on the very verge of destruction;' and immediately as he spoke the words, the whole multitude vanished away like smoke from before my eyes.

"They were next succeeded by a body of Frenchmen, far prouder than those who had gone before them: they, too, were mounted on foaming horses, and clothed in armour of every kind; and the neighing of their steeds, and the clashing of their armour, made a noise which extended far and wide. But after a short while, they and all their glory were swallowed up by the earth, which opened her mouth, and no trace of them appeared. Casting my eyes over the field once more, I saw it covered, for some miles, with a large body of women; and while I was in astonishment at their number, my guide informed me that they were the wives of priests. He spoke thus: 'These wretched women, and those persons also who were consecrated for sacrificing to God, but who, unworthy, have become enchained in the pleasures of the flesh, are awaiting the eternal sentence of condemnation, and the severe punishment of the fires of hell.'

"Next I looked upon a dwelling-place of great loftiness, framed entirely of iron; it stood alone in a horrid wilderness, and the entrance to it was constantly being opened and closed; and bishop William, suddenly putting forth his head, inquired of me where was the monk Gosfrid. 'For,' said he, 'it was his duty to be here with me at the trial.' The bishop had appointed this man as his procurator. Then my guide said to me: 'You may know of a truth that the end of the bishop's life is close at hand, and the person for whom he is inquiring will follow him no very long time after. And as for yourself, since you are permitted for a little space longer to live in the world, endeavour to escape God's wrath, and, after having confessed your sins, study how to lead a life in accordance with the instructions which you will receive from the prior; and have no hesitation in making him fully acquainted with all that has been manifested to you."

This knight stated that he had seen and heard these things which we have reported, and others also; and their truthfulness was shortly afterwards established by the death, as well of the bishop as of those various other persons whose departure had been predicted. And those two brethren, who were observed as having departed from the line of the procession, also bore witness to the truth of his words; for the prior, having made a careful investigation into their lives, discovered the accuracy of the statement which the knight had made to him in private.

CHAP. LXIX.[1]—OF THE PLACE WHERE BISHOP WILLIAM DIED, AND HOW HIS BODY WAS CONVEYED TO DURHAM.

Now, while this knight, at the command of the prior, recounted to the bishop the narrative of his vision, the latter trembled and was in great terror when he heard it; and from that time forth he took the greater care of his [soul's] health; he was more profuse in his alms, longer and more intent in his devotions, nor would he omit his stated daily prayers to attend to any business whatever. And, of a truth, for a long while before his decease, his health had been very infirm; but he was seized with a sharper attack than usual one Christmas-day,[1] which he was spending at Windsor, and he struggled with the disease, which was fatal to him, for eight days. In the meantime, many persons visited him; some to ask him for his advice in their necessities, for he was a man of great skill; some to comfort the sick man with words of holy consolation. The chief agent in this work was Anselm, the venerable archbishop of Canterbury, whose private exhortation respecting his soul's health the bishop long enjoyed, and rejoiced that he had derived from him the grace of consolation and blessing. Worn out with this infirmity, he had no longer a more earnest desire for life than he had for death; but his most urgent prayer to God was this—that whatever He knew to be best for him, He would vouchsafe to grant him, whether it were a longer life or present death. But upon the evening of the eighth day, being the festival of the Circumcision, when the nearer approach of death showed that the sentence was irrevocable, he asked that he might participate in the comforts of those who depart in the faith; these offices were administered to him with the greatest devoutness (after having made a confession of the catholic faith) by the hands of Thomas, the archbishop of York, of venerable memory, assisted by Walkeline, bishop of Winchester, and John, bishop of Bath. To these prelates he committed himself and his children, that is, the monks of this church; and he anxiously strove how to recommend them to their care and protection. Whilst he was thus awaiting the hour of his summons, the bishops were deliberating as to the place in which he should be buried; and it appeared to them to be most expedient and most fitting that his body should be interred within the church of St. Cuthbert, for he had always been most anxious that the holy body of that bishop and confessor should have a continual service, worthy and pleasing to God, performed by a congregation of monks established in that spot. But he protested against this arrangement, and earnestly forbade it. "By no means," said he, "by no means let my dead body be the occasion of that custom of the church of the holy Cuthbert being broken, which has been so carefully preserved from the remotest period up to this present hour: for never has the corpse of any one been introduced, even for an hour, within the place in which his incorrupt body reposes, much less been there buried." They decided, therefore, that he should be interred in the chapter-house, since it was a locality in which the brethren, having to assemble therein daily,[2] would be daily reminded in their hearts of their dearly beloved father, by the sight of his tomb.

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[1] In Twysden's edition, book IV. chap. x.

The disease now became more severe with the bishop, and the pallor of death came upon him; and so he ended his life near upon the hour of cock-crowing, upon the fourth of the nones of January [2d Jan. 1096], being the fourth day of the week. According to the established custom, his body was clothed in his vestments, and the brethren who were present conveyed it to Durham. The monks, the clerks, and the whole population met it, and removed it with much sorrow and lamentation, and carried it into the church of St. Michael. Therein its obsequies were performed the first night by the clergy and the people; but on the morning, the monks taking the body into their own possession, passed that day and the following night in prayers, in the chanting of psalms, and in watching. On the ensuing day, that is, on the seventeenth of the kalends of February [16th Jan.], they committed it, with the honour which was its due, to the grave, in the spot which the bishops had selected, as we have already mentioned. How great was their grief for the loss of so good a father, how deep their sorrow, how bitter their tears, it is better in my opinion to pass over in silence, than to make a statement which to some persons might appear to be incredible. But I am persuaded, that of all those present there was not one who would not have recalled the bishop to life, could he have done so at the cost of his own. He died in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and ninety-six, after having spent fifteen years and two months, all but three days, in the bishopric; and this occurred in the thirteenth year after the monks had taken up their abode in Durham.

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[1] A.D. 1095.

[2] Upon the assembly of the monks in the chapter-house, see Martene, De Antiq. Monachorum Ritibus, I. v. § 3.

HERE ENDS SIMEON'S HISTORY.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF SIMEON OF DURHAM.

CHAP. I.[1]—OF BISHOP RALPH.

FOR the three succeeding years, during which the church was deprived of a pastor, the king transferred from the bishopric into his own treasury three hundred pounds annually. But he took nothing from the monks; nay, to them he was liberal and beneficent; nor did he permit any one to inflict upon them any kind of injury or oppression. When now five months of the fourth year after the death of the bishop had expired, the king gave the see to Ralph, to whom was exclusively appropriated the designation of "the king's chaplain," on account of the especial regard in which he was held by his majesty. He had in the first instance resided with Maurice, bishop of London, but a dispute having arisen in consequence of his having been deprived of the deanery, he transferred his services to the king, enticed thereto by the hope of loftier promotion. In this he was not disappointed. Devoting himself to those lawsuits in which the interests of the crown were more especially involved, he made such rapid progress (for he was a man of a quick wit and of a ready tongue), that the influence which he acquired with the king placed him in a position superior to men the most influential in power and noble in birth throughout all England. For he was appointed the procurator of the entire kingdom; and in this position he sometimes insolently abused the authority with which he had been invested; for, whilst he was vehemently pressing the interests of the crown, he cared little how many he offended. Thus he incurred the dislike and the hatred of the majority of the people. Many were the attempts which were made by continued accusations, to blacken him in the king's estimation, and to dislodge him from that intimate position which he had acquired; but as all these were ineffectual, they planned how they might entrap him in a snare, and then put him to death.

There was one Gerold, a man who, as it was said, was armed by the hardihood and the treachery of others; he embarked in a boat, and having waited upon the chaplain at London, he earnestly entreated him to hasten with all speed to visit his sick master, bishop M[aurice], who at that time was just about to draw his last breath, and most urgently desired to have some conversation with him at the episcopal vill upon the banks of the river Thames, in which he was at that time resident. In confirmation of the truth of his story, he pointed to the boat, which he said his master had despatched in order that the passage might be more speedy.

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[1] This addition to Symeon has no title prefixed to it, and is written in a hand somewhat more recent than the body of the MS.

Suspecting no mischief, Ralph and a few of his companions went on board the vessel; whereupon Gerold pushed off into the middle of the current, and hastened at once out to sea. When the chaplain inquired how it was that after so long a passage they had not yet come to the shore, he pretended that the landing-place was still a little distance, at which the landing would be much more easy. But when Ralph noticed a larger vessel lying at anchor in the middle of the stream, awaiting his arrival, as it appeared to him, he then became aware that he was the object of this dangerous deception. There is no need to say more. He was transferred into the suspicious ship, in which he observed a numerous body of armed men. There was no mode of escape. He immediately drew the ring which he wore from off his finger, and his notary took his seal, and they flung them both into the midst of the river; for they were apprehensive that as these were well known everywhere throughout England, the enemy would prepare deceitful writs by their means, and that much confusion to the state would hence arise. Next, his followers were dismissed on shore, but they were previously bound by a strong oath not to give any information to any person whatever as to what had become of their master. And now the vessel, leaving the river, was passing out to the open ocean, and having hoisted her sails was prosperously pursuing her course towards the south. The chaplain in the meanwhile was seated by himself in the bow of the ship, and the sailors were disputing by what kind of death he should die. Two sons of Belial were appointed as his executioners, and they were either to throw him overboard into the sea, or to dash out his brains with clubs; and they were to receive as their reward the clothes which he wore, which were very good. One of them wished to have his mantle, the other objected; and the dispute which thereupon arose delayed for awhile the death which seemed to be impending. On the second day the calm weather by which they had hitherto been accompanied ceased, and suddenly there arose from the south a whirlwind which lashed the sea into fury, and the night, unexpectedly closing in upon them, covered the heavens with darkness. The vessel was tossed hither and thither by the tempest; the rudder was no longer its master, but the winds and the billows; nor could they either go onwards or reach the land. The cordage was broken, and the mast snapped; no longer did the vessel float upon the waters, but the waters floated in it. The approach of death appeared inevitable. The only mercy which the sea showed them was in permitting them to return to the spot whence they had sailed. Whilst the waves were driving them back, it was decided that the sentence of death should be executed upon Ralph, lest he should escape and wreak his vengeance upon them. But he who was the second in command after Gerold in the ship, abhorring such a crime, came suddenly to him, and with a sad countenance and many tears he said, "Alas, Ralph, you are about to be put to death; it is an accursed crime on our part; but if you will forgive the part which I have already taken in the plot, here I stand to defend you, and I will be your companion for either life or death." Then Ralph answered (for he was always a man of spirit in the midst of dangers), "What are you dreaming about, Gerold? what is it that you have been plotting against me? You are my retainer; your fealty is due to me,—if you violate it, you will do so at your peril; repent for what you have already done, and abandon the wicked act which you intend to perpetrate. Nay, rather adopt a piece of advice which shall be advantageous to you all your life long. Ask of me what you will, I am one able to give more than you ask; and in token of the sincerity of my intentions, see, I offer you my hand in pledge of my sincerity." Tempted no less by these promises than cowed by his energy, the other assented; and having taken Ralph out of the ship, which had now been driven back into the haven, he provided him with an honourable outfit in his own house, which was close upon the shore. But having no great faith in the promises of the other, he guarded his own safety by flight, and disappeared by going into a perpetual exile. But as for Ralph, he summoned soldiers from all quarters, and he was tumultuously conducted into London, accompanied by a body of armed men; whilst all were lost in astonishment at discovering that the man, who had been reported dead, had suddenly revived, and had returned to his post as manager of the affairs of the crown. Becoming still more endeared to the king, he rendered nugatory all the efforts of his enemies; and he was so hedged in on all sides, that as long as the king was alive, there was no loophole for any further assaults.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and ninety-nine, being the nones of June [5th June], upon the octaves of Pentecost, he (having received the see) was consecrated in the church of St. Paul's at London, by Thomas the elder, the archbishop of York, no profession having been required; as also had formerly been the case with William his predecessor. After he had occupied the see for about three years and three months, the king having been killed by an arrow whilst hunting, the bishop was entrapped by his enemies, and at the command of Henry (who had succeeded his brother) he was seized at London, on the eighteenth of the kalends of September [15th Aug.], and closely imprisoned in the tower of London.[1] Not long afterwards, however, that is to say, on the third of the nones of February, [3d Feb.], he escaped[2] one night through his own great cunning, and the assistance which he had privately obtained from his friends; and he avoided the diligent search which his pursuers made for him by sea and land. Coming into Normandy he was honourably received by duke Robert, the king's brother, from whom he received the church of Lisieux,[3] which at that time happened to be without a bishop, as a provision for the support of himself and his followers. Not long after this, he accompanied the said duke into England, where he went with a large fleet for the purpose of attacking his brother [king Henry]; but peace having been restored between these brothers through the agency of active mediators, the conditions of this treaty gave a free permission to the fugitives on either side to return in safety each to his own abode. Amongst others, Ralph obtained the restitution of his bishopric, but he could never fully regain the king's favour, though great and frequent were the gifts which he made. So anxious, however, was he to secure even the outward appearance of it, that his hand weighed heavy on the see; he demanded from it many an immoderate sum of money with which to purchase the goodwill of the king and his intimate associates. In consequence of this he trusted to an inefficient aid for the recovery of two of the districts of his diocese,[1] namely, Carlisle and Teviotdale, which some bishops had appropriated to their own dioceses during the time when he had been in exile, and the church had no protector; and these he could not regain. Out of his hatred to this bishop, the king had commanded that the charter, by which the church had obtained the confirmation of her possessions from king William, should be cancelled and rendered ineffective.

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[1] A.D. 1100. [2] A.D. 1101. [3] See Gallia Christ. xi. 771.

This bishop, however, was by no means deficient in loftiness of spirit, a feeling which he retained from the influence which he had formerly acquired when he was the procurator of the kingdom. In every assemblage of the nobility he always strove to be either the first or one of the first, and to obtain the chief place of honour amongst the honoured ones. By raising his voice and frowning he used to pretend an indignation which he did not really feel. His flow of language was rapid; and in his conversation he so intermingled jokes with seriousness, that his hearers were at a loss to discover whether he was speaking in jest or in earnest. His plans and intentions were at times fluctuating, nor did he long retain either his anger or his joy; but he passed over with ease from the one mood of mind into the other. His liberality towards his friends was very remarkable. He defended the privileges of his diocese to the best of his power against strangers. As to the works of the church, he prosecuted them at one time with energy, at another time carelessly; exactly as money was plentiful or scarce with him, from the offerings at the altar or in the cemetery. From these sources he carried up the walls of the nave of the church as far as the roof. His predecessor, who had commenced the fabric, had made this agreement, that he should undertake the building of the church, and the monks that of its offices, each out of their own separate funds. But this arrangement expired with himself; for the monks, neglecting the building of the offices, devoted themselves to the works of the church, and when Ralph arrived he found that it had advanced as far as the nave. To the ornaments of the church he added dorsals, palls, copes, chasubles, tunics, and dalmatics. He made an addition to the breadth of the narrow court of the monks, increasing its length and width. To the poor he had an open hand, and was liberal to them as well on his own accord as by the solicitation of others. He strengthened the city of Durham with a stronger and loftier wall; although indeed nature herself had fortified it. He built a rampart which extended all round from the choir of the church to the wall of the castle; and he levelled the space between the church and the castle, which had hitherto been occupied by numerous poor houses, and made it as plain as a field; in order that the church should neither be endangered by fire nor polluted by filth. He united the two opposite banks of the river Wear, by building a bridge of stone[1] of several arches, a work of considerable magnitude. He erected a castle[2] upon a steep cliff which overhangs the river Tweed, that he might thereby curb the incursions of robbers and the inroads of the Scots; for until his time this place, which was situated upon the borders of England and Scotland, was entirely exposed to the incessant harryings of these thieves; nor had any garrison been fixed there to restrain their attacks. Thus he impetuously passed from one undertaking to another, being impatient when at rest; and so long as anything new remained behind to be done, all that had been accomplished seemed as nothing. He was of a quick spirit and a hale body, and his health continued unbroken until within two years of his death. From that time his energies began gradually to flag, and the keenness of his perception was on the decline. When at last he was attacked with the disease which was fatal to him, he took to his bed about the beginning of the dog-days, and he died about their conclusion. The elders of the church were constant in their attendance round the bed of the dying man, entreating him to preoccupy the face of the Lord by confession; to make to himself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, and to pay all his just debts; and so he made a distribution of his money among the poor and his creditors. But after his death the king ordered that his tax-gatherers should seize and transfer into his own treasury all such sums as this bishop had either paid over to his creditors, or which had been distributed, or laid up anywhere, excepting only such as certain churches or the poor had already received. About a month before his death he directed that he should be carried into the church, and there sitting down opposite the altar, surrounded as he was by the clerks and many of the men of the bishopric, he heaved a groan from the very bottom of his heart, and began aloud to repent him of the ills which he had inflicted upon the church, that is to say, in having reduced it from its former liberty into slavery, and that he had deprived it of some of its free customs, and pillaged it of some of its lands. "And this," said he, "I did, not driven thereto by poverty, but incited thereto by covetousness. My wish to injure them exceeded my ability; but now I restore them the liberty of which I found them possessed when I came here; and whatever I have pillaged I return, in order that God may grant the forgiveness of my sins to me a penitent." Then, placing a ring upon the altar, he thereby restored to the church everything of which he had deprived her; and this restitution he confirmed by his charter and seal.[1] He died,[2] after having spent twenty-nine years, three months and seven days in this see.

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[1] The early diocese of Lindisfarne, being coextensive with the kingdom of Northumbria, naturally embraced within its limits the districts of Carlisle and Teviotdale, in the latter of which the convent of Durham possessed several churches to which they presented until the Scottish wars. Carlisle was severed upon the creation of that see in 1132. An extract from the larger History of Durham, quoted by Bedford (p. 322), contains this passage: "The king seized the bishopric of Durham, and deprived it of its adjuncts, Carlisle and Hexham, the latter of which he gave to the archbishop of York; and he refounded the bishopric of Carlisle, and bestowed it upon Ethelwolf, the prior of St. Oswald's. From the time of St. Cuthbert, and even before, these localities had been under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Lindisfarne or Durham." See two writs of William the Conqueror in Dugd. Monast. ii. 845.

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[1] Framwellgate bridge, a proof to the present day of the excellency of the bishop's masonry.

[2] Namely, Norham Castle, which, according to Hoveden, fol. 273 b, was commenced A.D. 1121.

Upon his decease the bishopric was entrusted to two barons, namely, John de Amundaville and Godfrey Esscotland the elder, that they might collect the taxes due to the king. The see was vacant for five years, with the exception of one month. The monks devoted themselves at this time to the building of the nave of the church of Durham, and it was completed.

Chap. II.—Of Bishop Geoffrey.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and thirty-three, Geoffrey, surnamed Rufus, the chancellor of king Henry, was elected bishop of Durham, and he was consecrated[3] at York by Turstan, archbishop of York.

In the third year of his episcopate, king Henry died, in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and thirty-five.[4] He was immediately succeeded in the kingdom by his nephew Stephen, his sister's son, who held the realm of England with much difficulty for nineteen years, excepting two months and seven days; for the leading men of the kingdom were at strife with each other. The cause of the disagreement was this: during the reign of king Henry they had sworn that they would secure the throne for his daughter, who had formerly been the empress of the Romans, but at that time was the wife of the earl of Anjou. In consequence hereof, David the king of the Scots, and many of the English earls, whilst they were opposing king Stephen, became also hostile the one towards the other, and gave such ample opportunity to the evil-disposed for the perpetration of every mischief, that the greater portion of the kingdom was left in a state of devastation.

In the earlier part of his episcopate bishop Geoffrey,[5] influenced thereto by certain evil persons, was compelled to deal somewhat severely with the monks; but not long afterwards, returning to a saner mind, he imitated the example of his predecessors, and bestowed certain liberties and customs as well upon the church as upon the monks, and liberally granted the prior of the church every privilege which had either been awarded to him by the authority of the fathers of the church, or had been handed down from undoubted

[1] The charters by which he made this restitution are preserved at Durham; and as they are not only interesting in themselves, but illustrative of the accuracy of the statements of our author, a translation is given in the Illustration [E.]

[2] He died 5th Sept. 1128. From this point to the end the Durham MS. differs so decidedly from Twysden's edition, that each may be regarded as an independent narrative. See the present volume, p. 751. This portion of the Durham copy is written in a somewhat later hand.

[3] He was consecrated 6th August, 1133, being the festival of the Transfiguration, and the eleventh Sunday after Trinity.

[4] 1st December, 1135.

[5] The text of Bedford, here somewhat defective, has been amended by that of Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 709.

antiquity and ancient custom. In his time the chapter-house of the monks was completed. At his death he bequeathed to the church ornaments of no small value; but his decease was the occasion of the church being exposed to a grievous tempest.

CHAP. III.—OF THE DOINGS OF WILLIAM CUMIN.

THERE was one William Cumin, who at this time was the chancellor of the king of Scots. For a long time previously, this person had been a clerk[1] to Geoffrey before he became bishop; for he had educated this William from his youth. Shortly before bishop Geoffrey's death, this William had come to Durham, and having been admitted into a close intimacy with him, and perceiving that the bishop's departure was close at hand, he caused some of the clerks who were more friendly towards him, and the wardens of the castle, to enter into an agreement with him, (to which they either pledged their faith or made oath,) to the effect that on the bishop's decease they would deliver the castle over into his keeping. The whole of this design he carefully concealed as well from the prior as from the archdeacons of the church; and having resumed his journey, he hurried off to the king of Scotland, as if to obtain the bishopric of Durham through his cooperation. During his absence the bishop died, upon the second Rogation-day,[2] being a Tuesday; and on the night ensuing, the body was disembowelled and salted, for otherwise it could not have been kept longer. In order to conceal his death, access to the castle was denied even to the prior and the archdeacons, who wished to visit the bishop as hitherto had been their custom; and his decease was not made public until the Friday.[3] But when the news passed from mouth to mouth, they permitted the corpse to be prepared for interment upon the Friday, as if he had just then died: he was accordingly buried upon the Saturday. On the ensuing Sunday,[4] this William returned into the castle; and, acting as if under the authority of the king of Scotland, whom he had now won over to his designs, he commenced to dispose of everything, as if all were his own; he frequently addressed them separately and collectively; some he enticed with promises,—some he won over by flattery,—all of them he circumvented by his cunning craftiness so entirely, that he managed everything as he pleased (nay, beyond it); and the power on which he had laid his hands appeared as if it would remain with him. He had no great difficulty in inducing the barons to side with him; for they almost tempted him before he tempted them: they were half influenced by his power, half seduced by his cunning. He contrived so to infect one of the archdeacons with his poison, that he sided with him. All this was done in a corner, in the dark, and in the shadow of death, until, upon the arrival of the king of Scotland, they might discuss the matter openly with the barons who accompanied the king, with Eustace, Robert de Brus, Bernard de Bailol, and Hugh de Morevil. These persons were easily induced to join his faction, influenced thereto not less by the hope of advantage than by the promise of reward; and each of them was instant now with the prior, now with archdeacon Ralph, in season, out of season, tempting them with promises, and terrifying them with threats, to elect Cumin as bishop. The answer which they received was this,—that such an election would be irregular, that it would be contrary to the canon law and the decrees of the fathers, and that it could not on any account be done until they should have consulted the lord legate, H[enry], bishop of Winchester;[1] that the mother church must have a voice, and that the religious persons had not been summoned for this purpose. Yet, whatever might be their efforts, they succeeded in nothing; and, at the last, the conference was broken off, to allow messengers from the chapter, accompanied by the king of Scotland, to be despatched to the court, requiring that the king, the legate, and the empress would confirm the liberty of the church in suchwise as to allow them the privilege of a free and canonical election. Those who were entrusted with this mission were not such as had been selected by the chapter, but they were of the appointment of the adverse party. Then, upon the holy day of Pentecost,[2] the messengers were charged by the prior in the chapter-house, after he had adjured them in the name of God, that when they reached the court, they should not make any petition whatever besides that with which they were more especially entrusted, to wit, that they might have a free election; that they would mention no names, nor accept any who might be named. Very many of the barons of the bishopric went with Cumin, and all were of his way of thinking; and his guard remained within the castle. But when they reached the court, they did not find the legate there; but neither then did his faction cease from their attempts, for the messengers who had arrived solicited the empress and the barons that they would favour the church of Durham in the matter of the individual specified, namely, William. Yet it was decided that the business should lie over until the arrival of the legate; but the provident care of Ralph the archdeacon had made him acquainted by letter with the whole series of the occurrences. When the legate arrived at the court, application was immediately made to him by the barons of the empress, and by the envoys from Durham, upon behalf of William; but as he already had been made aware of the circumstances of the case, he could not be induced to give his assent to such a disorderly proceeding: but when he looked into the circumstances, finding that the attempt, in point of fact, was no other than it had been described to him, in his just indignation he forbade the ringleaders from making William bishop, save by an election which should be conducted according to the canons. And further, he interdicted William from all ecclesiastical communion, if he accepted the see, unless he were canonically promoted thereto. But upon the day of St. John the Baptist [24th June], William was quite prepared to accept the staff and ring from the empress; and, indeed, they would have been given him had it not been that a dispute arose with the Londoners,[1] which caused the empress to depart from London upon that very day with all her followers. William also kept along with her, in the company of the king of Scotland. Robert the archdeacon, and the barons of the bishopric, returned to Durham, carrying with them letters from the empress, directed to the chapter, of which the import was as follows: that she would be glad if our church were provided with a bishop, more especially the personage whom the archdeacon would nominate; he should have her consent,—all others her refusal. When he was asked, who this person was, he replied that it was William. But when the empress was besieged in Winchester,[2] William escaped amongst the fugitives, and about Michaelmas he arrived at Durham, where he found the king of the Scots, who had returned from the same siege the day before, and had taken up his abode in the monks' court, but he immediately lodged himself within the castle. For the second time, entreaties and demands were made for Cumin; but there was no giving of thanks, for neither the prior, nor the chapter, nor Ralph the archdeacon, gave heed to the application. After much ado, the king at length left William within the castle, as if he were the guardian of the bishopric under the authority of the empress; and the king became security between the garrison on the one hand, and the prior and the brethren on the other, that neither party should mutually inflict or experience any damage. When he had gone, William conducted himself, not like a guardian, but as if he had been already made bishop: he bestowed lands, and he renewed the homage of all the barons, with the sole exception of Roger de Coyners;[3] and he compelled the townsmen to take oaths of fealty to him. As Ralph the archdeacon opposed him daily, and could not by any means be induced to bend to his wishes, at last William drove him from the city of Durham, and exiled him from the whole bishopric. As he had no place of secure refuge, he took shelter in York, where he had scarce arrived ere William pillaged everything that he possessed, not even sparing his dwelling-houses; for he caused them to be broken open, plundered, and destroyed. With the greatest difficulty Ralph escaped to the king of England, and laid his complaint before him and the lord legate. Thereupon the latter hurled the arrow of his anathema against William as an invader, until he should make satisfaction to the church, and restore to Ralph what he had carried away; and he commanded the church of York, through the archdeacon, to pronounce this sentence against William. But he cared little or nothing for his condemnation when he heard it.

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[1] According to Le Neve, iii. 73, he had been archdeacon of Worcester about A.D. 1130.

[2] The date usually assigned to the death of Geoffrey Rufus is 6th May, 1140; but the text, if correct, leaves no doubt that he died on Rogation Tuesday, 14th May.

[3] 17th May.

[4] 19th May.

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[1] Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester.

[2] 26th May.

During Lent, Herebert, abbot of Roxburgh,[4] came to Durham, and took advantage of the opportunity to pay a private visit to Roger the prior, when the abbot alone was present; and he asked the question in direct terms, whether they would accept William as their bishop, since the king of Scotland wished to arrive at a certainty upon this point. Since he could not extract from him such an answer as he wished, he left him; and then he summoned, singly and severally, the precentor, the sacrist, and the cellarer of the monastery, and to each of them he proposed the same question, and from each he met with the same reply.

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[1] Compare Malmesbury's History of his Own Times, § 48.

[2] See Florence of Worcester, p. 370.

[3] See Dugd. Baron. ii. 290.

[4] The Cottonian MS. designates him as abbot of Kelso.

During that same Lent, there came to Durham a certain vagabond monk of the Cistercian order, and he was immediately admitted by William to familiar intercourse with himself. After a long conference, he was dismissed, in order to carry into execution the plot which they had been hatching; the result of which soon appeared. For, some time afterwards, this same monk once more returned, and presented forged letters to William, pretending that they had been transmitted by the pope, and their seal was counterfeited so as to resemble the papal seal. William joyfully exhibited these letters to some of the brethren, and in them the pope was introduced as expressing his joy at William's election, which, as he had heard, had been canonically done by the people of God; and that he had enjoined his legate, Henry, bishop of Winchester, to occasion him no further annoyance. He despatched this monk on his journey towards the king of the Scots; for to him also he was the bearer of letters which professed to have been sent by the pope, and these stated that his holiness was especially anxious to inform the king that it was his (the pope's) wish that he, the king of Scotland, should assist the empress Matilda, and then, further, he should protect William, the bishop-elect of Durham. He had no great difficulty in deceiving the king as he did, who commanded that copies of these letters should be made in every part of his realm; he also gave the monk a palfrey, and honoured him with other gifts, and so sent him back to William. At length, Richard, abbot of Melrose, detected the entire fraud, and being zealous for the house of Israel, he was horror-stricken when he found what had been perpetrated therein; so he laid hold upon this pretended legate of a monk, and compelled him to confess the whole of his knavery, and how he had been taught and instigated to plan and execute the whole of it through the suggestion and by the promises of William.

After the death of bishop Geoffrey, the prior was commanded by the legate, for the second time, upon his obedience, and under the pain of excommunication, to appear before him personally; being hemmed in, however, by William's garrison, he conld not do this openly, but he contrived to slip through his hands by going out privately, and he did as he was enjoined. When William discovered this, he poured out his cruelty upon the brethren who remained behind; many were the evils he inflicted, and more were those which he threatened. So closely did he cause the gates to be watched, that the monks could not by any means either despatch or receive a single message. He oftentimes hindered food from being conveyed to them, and closed the doors against their servants. He had the seal of the chapter in his hands, and he sent such letters as he pleased, and to whom he pleased, for the furtherance of his cause. During this period he built the castle at Alverton, which he gave as a present to his nephew William, whom he united in marriage with the niece of the earl of Albemarle, with an eye to his own advantage.

CHAP. IV.—OF THE ELECTION OF WILLIAM DE ST. BARBARA.

IN the third year after the death of bishop Geoffrey, the messengers who had been despatched to the lord pope Innocent,[1] by the prior and the archdeacon Ralph, upon the affairs of the church of Durham, returned from Rome, bringing with them a letter, in which the prior and the archdeacon were commanded by apostolic authority to elect a bishop for themselves within forty days after that letter had been presented to them; and that, if they could not do this within the church of Durham, it should be done either in the mother church[2] or in some other near at hand. A day having been appointed for the election, and persons from the bishopric having been summoned, the affair became known to William, and he sent and blockaded all the roads, so as to watch all travellers; and he ordered that they should be conveyed to him. Thus it was that he laid hold of some, while others were captured by his orders in another province. No wonder, then, that the apprehension which this proceeding of his occasioned, restrained some persons from undertaking the journey; and yet it came to pass that, by God's assistance, the pope's orders were complied with, and the venerable William, the dean of the church of York, was elected in the middle of Lent.[3]

In the meantime, William had sent letters, sealed with the chapter seal, (of which, as we have already mentioned, he had obtained possession,) together with two clerks, forbidding them to proceed with the election; but this embassy met with the reception which it deserved. But this other William happened at that time to be absent, having gone to a council[4] which was being celebrated at London, and so he was entirely ignorant of the whole proceedings: he was met, however, at Wintrintham upon the river Humber, by the prior and those who had been engaged in the election, as he was on his way back to York from the council. Then the prior, the archdeacon, and the rest, once more entered the church, and again proclaimed him as the bishop-elect of the church of Durham, and confirmed the election; and as he was unwilling to accept the office, nay, struggled hard against it, they dragged him to the altar, chanting as they went, "Te Deum laudamus." In the ensuing festival of Whitsunday,[5] the legate returned from the parts beyond the sea, and they went to Winchester with him; for the legate had commanded him upon his obedience that he should come to him. Therefore, when the election had been investigated, according to the papal directions and the decrees of the holy fathers, and the consent of the king had been asked and obtained, as the pope had recommended, the bishop was consecrated by the legate upon the Sunday before the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist;[1] and he returned to York on the morning after the festival of the apostles Peter and Paul.[2] William Cumin had again sent letters forbidding the consecration of the bishop-elect, and these he had sealed with the chapter seal.

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[1] Innocent II. A.D. 1130—1143.

[2] The archiepiscopal church of the province, namely St. Peter's at York.

[3] William de St. Barbara was elected 14th March, 1143, and consecrated at Winchester on the 20th of June following.

[4] The proceedings of this council may be seen in Spelman, ii. 47, and in Wilkins, i. 421.

[5] Whitsuntide fell upon the 23d May.

When he ascertained that the consecration had actually taken place, he vented his ill-temper upon the brethren of the church, whom he annoyed in many ways. Moreover, he exceedingly persecuted the priests; for as many of them as he thought had ceased to celebrate divine service in consequence of the excommunication which he had incurred, those he compelled to resume their ministrations, contrary to the decrees of the holy councils; and those whom the priests left unburied he caused to be interred by his own servants.

In the meantime a quarrel arose between him and Roger de Coyners, from whom he could not extort homage and the oaths as he had from the other barons. Hereupon Roger, apprehensive of his own safety from the attacks of this William, began to fortify his residence at Biscoptun. When William heard this he despatched a considerable body of soldiers to seize it, but despairing of success he abandoned the attempt. Not many days after this the bishop, having received an invitation from several of the barons of the bishopric, entered the diocese, rather dragged thither by his followers than coming of his own free will. This occurred shortly after the feast of the Assumption of the holy Mary [15th Aug.]. He was received by many like a person who had been long expected; and abandoning William Cumin they flocked to meet him. During the residence of a few days at Biscoptun, he received the homage of such persons as offered it to him of their own free will; he constrained none, but he kindly received all who came of their own accord. Then Roger de Coyners, and the barons who had gathered round him, supported by a body of troops, conducted the bishop towards the castle of Durham; they believed, either that William would repent him of his evil deeds, or that they would be able to induce his adherents to abandon him.

CHAP. V.—OF THE CRUELTY AND REBELLION OF WILLIAM CUMIN.

BUT in these their anticipations they were miserably mistaken. For not only did he not repent of his sins, but he did not sue for peace; nay, rather, the messengers who were despatched to him to speak for peace were rejected by him: some he did not admit at all; some he drove away; some he cast out with threats and revilings. Next he caused his soldiers to march out, and when they who were on the bishop's side drew near the walls, he drove them back as if they had been enemies. The bishop's company

[1] June 20th.

[2] June 30th.

thereupon returned to the church of St. Giles, at some little distance from the walls, and there they and the bishop spent the night. In the next morning, William, accompanied by a concourse of his adherents, broke open the doors, and rushed into the church with his armed men; and there you might have seen soldiers in their armour, with drawn swords in their hands, running up and down between the altars; archers—some intermingled with weeping and praying monks, others brandishing swords over their heads; while the whole church was filled with loud and tumultuous outcries. The troops could with difficulty be held back from injuring the monks; indeed, they had nearly killed one of them by throwing a stone at him. They left a company of men-at-arms and archers within the church, which they fortified as if it had been a castle; and it seemed to afford them intense joy, that in the very house of peace they had dishonoured God: they lighted their fires, they snuffed up the fumes of the meal which they were cooking as if they were the sweet-smelling savour of incense; instead of the voice[1] of praise there were heard the loud shoutings of the watchmen, and these sounded to a far distance, being intermixed with the blowing of horns.

In the meantime they made frequent sallies against the bishop's men, whom they would not permit to approach near the walls. But William Cumin had despatched a private message to the earl of Richmond, promising him a large sum of money if he would march down with an army and put the bishop to flight. When the bishop was made acquainted with this, his unwillingness to be the cause of the effusion of blood, and his love of peace, induced him to retire with his troops to Biscoptun, although he was in a position to have offered resistance. William's retainers pursued them, and as many of the rear ranks as they could capture they cruelly slaughtered; some they mutilated by cutting off their limbs; some they fined and put into prison; some they permitted to be redeemed on the payment of a ransom; but these were such as they considered unworthy of their sword. In the interim he expelled from the church such of the monks as he held to be opposed to him; and thenceforth his madness seemed daily to be upon the increase, and his cruelty became unbounded. His soldiers were incessantly making forages; they ranged through every spot in the whole district; whatever they could lay their hands on they plundered; their inroads ceased neither day nor night; all that came in their way was destroyed—some of it they burnt, some they destroyed; all the produce of the fields they ruined either by treading it down or by depasturing cattle upon it; and thus the land which had been cultivated became barren and devastated by being trodden under foot. Just as effectually as locusts give proof of their presence by nipping off the leaves and flowers from a tree, so wherever these men passed it became a wilderness. They associated with themselves such as were the most depraved and the most notorious for their excesses; one struggled against the other for the

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[1] Here two leaves have been cut out of the Durham MS., and their place supplied by a single folio, written in the same hand as The History of the Unjust Persecution of the first Bishop William.

mastery in evil; the greater the cruelty the greater the admiration. Even to hear of their doings was terrible; but to see them was something yet worse. Their insolence was not confined to ravages and plunderings only, but was extended to the most cruel bodily torments, inflicted not in secret, and in the darkness of the night, and upon only a few individuals, but perpetrated openly, and in the sight of day, and upon men of the nobler rank. Their torments were of many and various kinds, difficult to describe and incredible to believe. Men were hung from the walls of their own houses; cords being tightly twisted round their middle, and heavy armour or large stones tied to the neck and feet, so that the 4
extremities of the body were bent towards the ground, which, however, they did not touch. Upon one occasion more than twelve persons were discovered together suspended in this manner; others of them they plunged into the bed of the river in the depth of winter, after having broken the ice with which it was covered; and having tied ropes round them, they alternately dragged them out of it and thrust them back again, feeding their cruelty with such a spectacle of misery. The feet of some they thrust through holes made in the wall, and thus exposed their naked bodies to the extremity of the cold, leaving them in this misery all the night long. In addition to all these, they employed a most refined piece of cruelty, by which the limbs were wedged together and thrust within a very narrow chest,[1] a novel device in the mystery of tormenting which eclipsed all former efforts. It was in direct antagonism to the older punishment of the rack, which stretched the limbs to an undue length; whereas, by this present device, they were crushed and cramped up into a narrow space, by which process they were sometimes fractured. Who is able to give an account of the immensity of the chains, or the stench of the prison-house, or the sharpness of the hunger to which they were exposed? But let me not be tedious; everywhere throughout the town there were groans and various kinds of deaths. In consequence of such horrible proceedings the place, which had hitherto been so highly honoured, now became a terror to all, and was surnamed The place of the tortures of hell.

After the feast of Michaelmas [29th Sept.] the bishop advanced nearer to Durham, and he lived in much want in a fortified building which his followers had erected for him at a place called Thornlaw, a thing which they could do without much danger. However, as a general famine was apprehended, in consequence of the complete devastation of the entire province, upon the feast of St. Andrew [30th Nov.] a time was agreed upon between this William on the one part, and the barons of the bishopric on the other, by Eustace Fitz John and Stephen de Menyll, to continue until the octaves[2] of the Epiphany; and William promised that he would make amends for the mischiefs which he had done, but the issue showed that these were but vain words. For he gave sufficient proof that he temporised, and that his amendment was only in pretence. He had now devoured everything, and his hungry jaws had consumed all that could afford either material for their cruelty or a prey for their greed; for if aught had hitherto escaped the grasp of his wickedness, he now clutched it all the more closely. He could not restrain himself during even the sacred days of the Lord's advent; but although he refrained from pillaging the bishopric for a little while, he transferred his cruelty upon the neighbouring barons and upon the earldom, and he sent out his retainers to plunder and pillage everywhere, and to drag men to torments. In the night of the festival of St. Thomas the Apostle [21st Dec.], he made a prisoner of Humphry de Thorp in his own house, and having carried him off to Durham he kept him until he should be ransomed. Within the octaves of Christmas,[1] he carried off to Durham a large booty from the lands of Bernard de Bailol, after having slaughtered many of his men; and on such of them as he could capture alive he inflicted tortures of various kinds. Before the expiration of the date, as had been agreed upon, the archbishop of York[2] came to Durham and began to treat with him, that he would resign and do no further mischief. Hopes were entertained that the archbishop could accomplish such an arrangement; for William had promised that he would follow his advice in everything. But when the bishop had returned from York, to which place he had retired as soon as the time had been agreed upon, William came thither to have a conference with these two bishops outside the town, at which the bishop of Carlisle[3] was also present. At length, by the mediation of the archbishop, he agreed to grant a truce, during which peace should be strictly observed; and the barons of the bishopric granted the same to him: and it was arranged that this should continue until the Nativity of St. John the Baptist [24th June], during the whole of which period he should reside within his castle, until the bishop could despatch a messenger to the pope, asking what he would advise should be done in the entire matter. It was agreed that in the meantime William should enjoy the third part of the rents of the bishopric between the Tees and the Tyne, and that he should make a full restitution to the bishop of whatever belonged to him by right within the burgh and without, and whatever he held within the bishopric, with the exception of the castle. This agreement was confirmed by the archbishop, and the barons of the bishop and William pledged themselves to observe it.

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[1] Compare the Saxon Chronicle, p. 165.

[2] That is, until 13th January, 1144.

CHAP. VI.—OF THE TREASON OF HUGH PINTON.

At the beginning of Lent[4] the bishop withdrew himself from Durham and went into Northumberland, leaving behind him as his agent for the management of his affairs in the bishopric his steward, Hugh Fitz Pinton; and during the whole of Lent he devoted himself most assiduously to those matters which concerned the episcopal office,—such as the dedication of churches, the consecration of churchyards, and other sacred duties. But when this Hugh discovered that he had gained the bishop's confidence, he conducted himself very disgracefully towards the man who had bestowed upon him this token of his kindness, for he betrayed his master, and became a pattern of wickedness to evildoers. He took the companions of his iniquity from the associates of this William: they were at first few, but the company gradually increased in number. Falsehood with him was an easy task, and he was wonderfully skilful in making people believe his lies; he held deceit to be a virtue, and he employed it against his master, who had been very kind to him. When he had taxed his patience even beyond the uttermost point of endurance, like a wild beast, he turned his fury against his master; and, throwing aside all further dissimulation, he appeared like a second Triphon. When at length the bishop had returned into his own diocese, and had taken up his residence at the church called Jarrow, he attempted, in the first place, to circumvent him by fraud and treachery, straining every nerve to induce him to attend a conference with this William, being all the while well aware that William was plotting how to make the bishop prisoner. But when the bishop had escaped this danger, not long afterwards he openly discovered the venom of his hatred, which he had so long been nourishing in secret. For having seduced one of the bishop's barons called Aschetin de Wirece, and induced him to accompany him to Durham, on the pretence that he wished to discuss with him some questions arising out of the treaty already mentioned, he caused him to be arrested on his arrival, although he had previously pledged himself that he should suffer no injury. And so he was put in chains and cast into prison, and kept there until he should be ransomed. Shortly after this, William treated Robert de Amundavere[1] as he had dealt with Aschetin; for he made him prisoner, put him in bonds, and held him for ransom. Next, upon the Saturday[2] after the Ascension of our Lord, another William, the nephew of that William already mentioned, came, accompanied with a large body of troops, to the place where the bishop was staying; and, having stormed the wall which surrounded the church, he attempted to force an entrance in hostile manner, that he might carry off the bishop and his friends as prisoners. The few who were within (for the greater number who were in the village were still asleep) defended themselves as best they might, and kept the assailants at bay. But God protected them: for though they continued the assault with the greatest impetuosity from very early in the morning until the third hour of the day, they were disappointed as to the result, and were compelled to retire; and they returned to Durham, carrying off with them the spoils which they had laid their hands upon outside the wall, and the horses which they had collected. The bishop, perceiving that it was not convenient for him to reside on this side of the Tyne, crossed that river upon the vigil of Pentecost [13th

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[1] Namely, between 25th December, 1143, and 1st January, 1144.

[2] The see of York being at this time the subject of dispute between conflicting candidates, it is not quite clear who the individual is who is here meant. See Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 99.

[3] Ethelwald, formerly prior of Nostell, who has been already mentioned. See p. 715.

[4] In A.D. 1144 Ash-Wednesday fell upon 8th February.

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[1] The Cotton. MS. reads the name, more correctly, Amundeville. [2] 6th May.

May]; shortly after which date he proceeded towards the island of Lindisfarne, there to take up his abode. Hugh Fitz Pinton betrayed the castle of Thornlaw to William, and they entered into an agreement for the marriage of Hugh's daughter with William's nephew. The bishop placed some trust in the earl of Northumberland, who had promised, as well by writing as personally, that he would aid him in recovering possession of his see from this William. But William, redeeming the time, cheated the earl, for he concluded a truce with him to extend until after the feast of the Assumption of St. Mary [15th Aug.].

CHAP. VII.—HOW THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN OF MERRINGTON WAS CONVERTED INTO A CASTLE; AND HOW THOSE WHO DID THIS WERE PUNISHED.

BUT upon the day immediately preceding this festival [14th Aug.], William summoned all his retainers at a certain chapel of St. John (which was situated at about five miles from Durham), and began to convert the church into a castle, plying the work with all diligence. But when this act of sacrilegious profanation became known to three barons of the bishopric,—that is, to Roger de Coinners, Geoffrey Escolland, and Bertram de Bulmer,—they thought that it was much better to die for the sake of religion, than to leave unpunished such insults as these which were thus offered to God; and having levied all the forces which they could assemble, they marched to the spot to put a stop to this nefarious proceeding. But William's party did not wait for their arrival. Some of them took to their heels; others shut themselves up within the church, which they had already nearly surrounded with a ditch; and taking their stand upon the tower, and the turrets which they had constructed, they shot arrows and hurled darts at all who came within their reach, thinking to keep them at a distance, but in vain. For the assailants, caring little for what they had already suffered, and less for what they might still suffer, dashed, some of them, through the windows; some of them threw fire upon these godless ones (the urgency of the case warranted this step); and thus the place was carried, and its sacrilegious defenders taken prisoners sooner than might have been expected. Some of them were burnt to death, more were carried off as captives, God dealing with them according to their deserts.

It happened that this William, who was the nephew to the other William, was crushed beneath the ruins of a part of the work, which had fallen down on the first day of its erection in consequence of the slightness of the workmanship. I will not decide whether this happened by chance or by God's vengeance. However, he was extricated, and was conveyed to Durham during the night, where his injuries occasioned insanity; and, after having been miserably tormented by it for a time, he expired. There was also a certain stonemason, who was actively employed in this accursed work at the very time when this place was captured; whilst he was at work he suddenly became mad, and as his companions were conveying him to Durham he died, gnawing his own tongue.

In the meantime, earl Henry having collected an army entered the province, having the bishop in his retinue, and drew near Durham; whereupon the adherents of William issued forth and set fire to the hospital[1] situated near the church of St. Giles, and burnt to the ground the entire vill which belonged to it. They also committed to the flames that portion of the burgh which belonged to the monks. The soldiers of the earl followed hard upon their footsteps, and they burnt down the remaining parts of the burgh. In the meantime, the earl with his army went to Thornelaw, the castle of which place was surrendered to him by William's garrison, whereupon he refused to hand it over to the bishop, but garrisoned it with his own soldiers. They lost no time in pillaging the land which it was their duty to have protected, and occasioned great damage to the bishopric. When this was done, the earl came to a sounder mind, and the bishop betook himself to Newcastle, at which place the king of Scotland arrived not long after, induced thereto by a promise from William that he would surrender that castle to him. They had a conference at Gateshevet, which ended in the disappointment of this William, who returned to Durham and commenced to frame a treaty with Roger de Coyners.

Chap. VIII.—How William de St. Barbara was received into the Bishopric of Durham.

The ultimate result of this arrangement was this,—that the bishop commenced his journey towards Durham, not so much like one who trusted these treaties, as driven thither by the extremity of the necessity of the multitude, and constrained by his friends. The town was already occupied by Roger de Coinners, and William awaited the arrival of the bishop in the monks' court. Things having taken this unexpected turn, the bishop, accompanied by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Carlisle, made his entry into Durham, on the day of the festival of St. Luke the Evangelist [18th Oct.]. William cast himself at his feet; and when the bishop interrogated him, he made public confession that the bishop had made no promise to him, either of money or of aught else, but that he repented him of his former evil deeds; that he would of his own free will resign to the bishop the castle and all that he held; in token of which, he presented himself naked at the bishop's feet, and humbly offered to make ready satisfaction for all his trespasses: and thereupon the bishops admitted him, as far as their authority extended, and without touching upon the privileges of our lord the pope, to the first step of penance. He took an oath before the bishops, and promised that he would make satisfaction for every injury that he had inflicted upon any one. Thus it came to pass, that, after such a long exile, after so many vexations, after so many losses inflicted by so many enemies, at length the bishop took possession of his see, through the agency of God, who giveth comfort to his own servants.[2]

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[1] The hospital for lepers, called Keepyer.

[2] Bedford (p. 325) prints an extract from a contemporaneous Durham chronicler, a translation of which is appended:—

"A. D. 1143. William de Sancta Barbara, dean of York, was elected in the chapel

Chap. IX.—An Addition from an ancient MS. Book of the Church of Durham.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and fifty-three, upon the day of St. Vincent,[1] Laurence the prior, and the clergy of the church of Durham, chose Hugh the treasurer of York; but those persons who took the lead in his election suffered continued annoyances on this account. For the choice which they made was displeasing to archbishop Henry, and he included them all in his anathema; nor would he consent to absolve them even at the request of king Stephen, or his son Eustace, to whom Hugh was related. At length, however, he did absolve them, through the instrumentality of archbishop Theobald, who was legate; but he would on no account consecrate Hugh. Whereupon, in company with several others, he went to Rome; and on his arrival there, he found that pope Eugenius was dead;[2] and the abbot of Clairvaux died,[3] and archbishop Henry died;[4] all of whom were hostile to this man's promotion. So, as not one of his opponents was now surviving, he was consecrated at Rome by pope Anastasius, upon the thirteenth of the kalends of January,[5] and, upon his return, he was enthroned, upon the sixth of the nones of May,[6] in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and fifty-four. David, the illustrious king of the Scots, died at Carlisle, upon the ninth of the kalends of June,[7] in this same year.

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of St. Andrew at York, by Roger the prior, and the clergy of the church of Durham, permission to elect having been confirmed to Durham by pope Eugenius.* He was consecrated at Winchester by the legate Henry, upon the twelfth of the kalends of June;† but as William [Cumin] had obtained possession of the castles, the bishop was prevented, for one whole year and four months, from gaining admission into his own see. At length, however, accompanied by a large body of the populace and clergy, he succeeded in being enthroned, upon the day of St. Luke,‡ being the fourteenth of the kalends of November, and he absolved from the sentence of excommunication, whereby they were involved, such of the rebels as had cast themselves at his feet. He held the diocese for nine years five months and seven days, during which time he always opposed a steady resistance to the damages inflicted upon the rents of the church; his lands were invaded and pillaged, plundered and consumed, not only by his neighbours, but also by his own people; and yet, by his subtle wisdom and great prudence, he restored to the church everything of which she had been deprived. His discretion was remarkable; he was prudent in council; his face was like that of an angel; he was famous no less for his knowledge than his eloquence; he was always intent upon the service of God and almsdeeds; and although he possessed scarce a third portion of the rents of the church, the remainder having been carried off by plunderers, yet, by God's gift, he always abounded in every good thing. He died on the eighteenth § of the kalends of December, to receive a bishop's honour in heaven by the gift of our Saviour Christ. The year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and fifty-two was to him the year of an eternal jubilee."

[1] That is, 31st January, 1153. [2] He died July 8, 1153, Jaffé, Regest. p. 652.

[3] The celebrated Bernard. See Mabill. Annal. Bened. lib. lxxix. § 6.

[4] Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, died 14th October, 1153. Le Neve, iii. 99.

[5] He was consecrated 20th December, 1153, by pope Anastasius IV. See Jaffé, Regest. p. 654. [6] That is, 2d May, being the fourth Sunday after Easter.

[7] May 24th, 1153. See the Chronicle of Melrose, A.D. 1153.

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* Pope Eugenius III. did not ascend the papal chair until A.D. 1145.

† Read, "July," i.e. 20th June.

‡ St. Luke's day falls upon the fifteenth of the kalends of November (18th October), and not on the fourteenth (19th October), as is stated in the text.

§ 14th November, 1152.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNJUST PERSECUTION OF THE FIRST BISHOP WILLIAM,

Inflicted by King William, *the Son of the great King William.*

In the year ten hundred and eighty from our Lord's incarnation,[1] when six months and ten days had elapsed after bishop Walcher had been murdered by the inhabitants of his diocese, he was succeeded in the episcopate of the church of Durham by William, who was elected upon the fifth of the ides of November [9th Nov.]; and ordained at Gloucester, by archbishop Thomas, upon Sunday, the third of the nones of January [3d Jan. 1081], in the presence of king William, and the bishops of the whole of England. He had been one of the clergy of the church of Baieux, and had assumed the habit of a monk in the monastery of St. Karileph: and he had been, in the first place, prior of the cloister; then chief prior; and, last of all, abbot in the monastery of St. Vincent. At a later period, king William, having discovered his value in the conduct of matters of difficulty, translated him to the bishopric of Durham. He was of a very acute understanding, keen in counsel, endowed with equal eloquence and wisdom. Having read in the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, and in the Life of St. Cuthbert, that, as well before as for many years after the period of that father, a convent of monks had served God in this church of Durham, but had subsequently been destroyed in the descent of the Danes, he suddenly resolved to restore to that church its ancient service. By the command of king William, he went to Rome, and truthfully explained to the lord pope Gregory the former and present condition of the church of Durham. On his return, by the command and authority of the pope, he restored the monastic mode of life around the blessed Cuthbert, on the holy day of Pentecost, being the fifth of the kalends of June [28th May, 1083], in the third year of his episcopate, and in the seventeenth year of king William. Upon the death of this sovereign, his son William was consecrated king, upon the sixth of the kalends of October [26th Sept. 1087], by whom the bishop was held in the same high regard as he had been by his father; but a fierce dispute having originated between the king and the nobles of England, the bishop was entrapped by his enemies, and he endured God's anger to the extent of being banished. It is the object of the following treatise to give a connected history of this occurrence.

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[1] Compare chap. lx. p. 699.

King William the younger dispossessed the bishop of Durham of his own lands, and those of his church, upon the fourth of the ides of March [12th March], and caused his men and all his property, wheresoever found, to be seized; and he directed that the bishop himself should be arrested, and many was the snare which he laid for him. Yet, by God's blessing, the bishop escaped them all, and arrived at Durham; and, on the very day on which he reached it, he despatched a messenger to the king, with letters to this effect:—

"To his lord William, the king of the English, William, bishop of Durham, wishes health, and sends his faithful service.

"I have to intimate to you, my lord, that your men of York and Lincoln have imprisoned my men, seized my lands, and would gladly apprehend myself, if they could; and all these things they say they have done by your command. And hence it is that I request you, as you are my lord, that you will cause to be restored to me my men, my lands, and my money; to me, I say, who am your faithful subject, whom you have never cited for any misdemeanour, and who has never refused the jurisdiction of your courts. If after this you shall think fit to cite me for any misdemeanour, I stand prepared to appear in your court at a fitting term, upon the receipt of a safe-conduct. But I earnestly entreat you, that you would not be induced, at the advice of my enemies, to treat me so basely, and to dispossess me so unjustly; for it is not the province of any one to judge a bishop; and I offer all justice to you, according to my order. And if, at this present time, it is your desire to have the service of either myself or my men, I offer you the same according to your good pleasure."

When the king had received and read these letters of the bishop, he gave the bishop's lands to his barons in the very sight of the messenger whom the bishop had despatched to him; and he sent back a message to the bishop, requiring him to come to him upon this understanding, that if he did not please to remain with the king, the king so requiring it, he should be at liberty to return to Durham in safety. Now, when the bishop, having received this message, was about to set out on his journey to the king, he despatched a messenger to the sheriff at York, asking him for the means of peaceably proceeding to the king. But Ralph Paganell,[1] who was at that time sheriff, refused a safe-conduct, not only to the bishop, but also to all his messengers and his retainers, who were anxious to go to the king. Moreover, he laid hold on the bishop's monk who was returning from the king, and killed his horse for him, and at last permitted him to escape on foot. And in addition to all this, he enjoined all the king's faithful subjects, in the king's name, to inflict as much mischief as possible upon the bishop, wheresoever and in what manner soever they could.

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[1] See Dugd. Baron. i. 431

So the bishop was thus unable to reach the king, either in his own person, or by means of his messengers; after having now for more than seven weeks endured the destruction and devastation of his lands without taking any revenge in return, at length the king despatched to him the abbot of St. Augustin's, commanding him, as he had before commanded him, to come to his court along with the abbot. Apprehensive of treachery from his enemies, as well as from the king's anger, the bishop replied, that he could not come without a safe-conduct, and he sent back to the king, under the abbot's escort, his own messengers with these letters following:—

"To his lord William, king of the English, William, bishop of Durham, sends greeting and his faithful service.

"It is well known to you, my lord, that immediately upon my return from your court, I despatched to you a messenger with my letters, in which I proffered to you, as to my king and lord, my service, and said that I would right myself of all accusations; and I entreated you of your mercy, that you would cause to be restored to me, your vassal and your faithful subject, the men, the lands, and the money, which your sheriffs have taken from me, whenever they had the opportunity of so doing, to wit, Offedene and Welletune,[1] (which they have divided between earls Odo and Alan,[2]) as also my other lands in Yorkshire; and this they have done without any reason alleged to me on your behalf, while I constantly offered justice, and have never transgressed so as to merit this treatment, but have always done, and always desired to do to you, faithful service.

"But at that time it did not please you to restore me my property, as I requested, and as it appeared to me to be just; but by your writ you gave me your protection to come to you in safety, to stay with you, and to return home; and in the same writ you enjoined your faithful subjects throughout all England, that all my property should be inviolate until you should ascertain whether I would continue with you. And yet when I sent this writ to Ralph Paganell, not only did he refuse me protection, but further, he defied me as an enemy on your behalf; and on the day following he violently invaded the lands of our church, and parcelled them out; some of the tenants he sold, some he permitted to be purchased back; and as for the retainers of this Paganell, they imprisoned the monk who was conveying this your writ of protection, and killed his horse for him. In addition to all this, I am informed that you have given away part of my lands; and when I desire to send messengers to you concerning these various matters, this Paganell refuses to permit them to pass through your land.

"And now, (such is your condescension,) since you have, by the abbot of St. Augustin's, and by your letters, laid your commands upon me to come to you in safety, I, for my part, pray you, and require you, as my king and my lord, that you would restore to me my property, of which you have deprived me without reason and without judgment, and I will willingly come to your court, and (respect had to my order) I will do for you whatsoever shall be justly awarded; and, if I can obtain this at your hands, I will thereupon return thanks to God and to yourself. And if it shall be your good pleasure now at length to restore what belongs to me, I am still prepared to come to your court, under such a safe-conduct as shall bring me to you, and carry me home again to my church; and in the presence of all your barons I will defend myself against the charge of having either made to any one, or received from any one, any pledge or oath which should endamage your person, or your lands, or your honour; nor have I, as far as I am aware, revealed your counsel to any person to your injury; nor have I concealed aught which I have heard, if calculated to do you hurt, but on the earliest opportunity I have intimated it to you either verbally, or by a messenger, or by letter, even to the latest day when I last left your court. And this I tell you of a truth, that willingly would I have come with this abbot, had not I been very apprehensive of my enemies and the undisciplined mob, and also been suspicious respecting your writ, and the good faith of your barons. I entreat you therefore to send me such a safe-conduct as, with equal regard to your honour and my safety, will convey me there and home again: for I have every confidence in your assurance that no one shall offer me any insult with your consent; but, supposing that this were done to me against your will, the punishment which would follow would afford me little satisfaction. But if I shall come to you, deprived of my property, I can at this time enter upon no other defence than that of my purgation."

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[1] That is, Howden and Welton, in Yorkshire; concerning which see the Appendix to the Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, pp. xxvii. xxix.

[2] Odo earl of Kent, and Alan earl of Brittany and Richmond. The latter restored the church of Welton to the monks of Durham by a charter, printed in the work last quoted, p. xxxi.

Upon the delivery of these letters the king sent a safe-conduct to the bishop, and gave him the strongest assurances, in writing, that no damage should occur to him, either from himself or his men, until he should reach Durham upon his return. So the bishop went to the king, and entreated him to do him justice as being one of his bishops; and the king made answer, that if he would plead like a lay person, and divest himself of the protection which the king had given him, he would do him right upon these terms; but, if he would not plead upon these terms, then he should be reconducted to Durham.

Hereupon the bishop requested the counsel of the archbishop of York and the other bishops who were present; and the bishops replied, that the king had forbidden them to afford him any advice. Upon this, the bishop required the archbishop, by the obligation under which he lay to his church and to himself, to give him his assistance; and when the archbishop hereupon consulted with the king, he sent back a message to the bishop that he would give him no advice. Then the bishop entreated the king that he would permit his archbishop and primate, and the other bishops his compeers, to treat with him; but this the king totally refused. The bishop thereupon offered to purge himself before the king of crime and perjury; but when the king refused to accept this, the bishop returned to Durham; the king having in the meantime plundered him of more than seven hundred men and an immense booty. The bishop sent one of his monks, the second time, to the king with the following letters:—

"To his lord William, the king of the English, William, bishop of Durham, sendeth greeting, and (if it be acceptable) his service.

"It is well known to you, my dearest lord, that I have more than once sent letters and several messengers to you requesting your mercy, and most earnestly offering (due regard had to my order) to purge myself in your court of treason and perjury: as I was unable to obtain this, I came to you with the same petition, but I made little progress with you; for the counsels of my enemies prevailed. Now, since I am most desirous of recovering your affection, which I have so unjustly lost, I send to you, as my lord and king, entreating that you would do justice towards me, your subject and your bishop, (due respect being had to my order,) by affording me the benefit of your protection. And should you still continue in the opinion that it is incumbent upon me to purge myself as if I were a layman, I am prepared upon this point also to submit to a previous judgment according to right; upon this condition, however, that if any one desire to oppress me by an open suit (while the security of the aforesaid protection is observed), it shall be lawful for me to oppose it, according to the right judgment of my order, in that place in which it shall be canonically adjudged; and I entirely profess that I will abide by whatever shall be adjudicated according to right, whether it be punishment by imprisonment, or the deprivation of the honour of my rank. But if, on the other hand, (which God grant!) I be restored to the comfort of your love, as is just, I am fully prepared to make you the fealty which is your due. But if you deny me this, and have arrived at the unchanged determination of doing me no justice, permit me, at the least, to purge myself from all accusation of perjury and treason, by a lawful process in your court; for I have no wish to hold my lands of you contrary to your will; for the lord who granted me the land which I hold is one who permitted me to possess it with honour, and promised that he would grant me yet further possessions."

No sooner had the king read these letters than he caused the monk who brought them to be seized and put in prison, and he despatched his army against the bishop; and, after the troops had laid waste the bishop's land by fire and plunder, the barons had a conference with the bishop, and they pledged themselves to the settlement of this agreement following:—

"The earl Alan and Roger Putavensis and earl Odo have given their faith to the bishop of Durham, upon the Nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.], that they will conduct him and all his followers to the king's court safe and sound, upon this condition following; that, in the event of the king refusing to do him right according to the episcopal law, by such judges as ought of justice to adjudicate upon the bishop, then, in that case, the earls aforesaid, without further delay than that to which the bishop assents, shall reconduct the bishop and all his men to Durham. But if such sentence shall be pronounced upon the bishop as shall to him appear to be unjust, and he shall oppose it, and shall remain with the king or the judges for the confirmation of that judgment in the place where disputed ecclesiastical causes ought of right to be determined, as is aforesaid, then the bishop shall be reconducted to his castle. And should the king do the bishop such right as cannot justly be gainsaid, and no appeal thereupon be made, or should such arise on the part of the king and his judges, in this case he should not be required to remain, but they should confirm their sentence where such judgments ought of right to be either confirmed or set aside; and, should the bishop be either unable or unwilling to enter any right, then the king shall provide for the bishop, without any detention or delay, a port and shipping between Exeter and Sandwich, at his own choice, sufficient for himself and all his people who are willing to follow him, and shall provide him with a security and safe-conduct, which shall be in force until the bishop and his people, with their goods, shall reach dry land on the other side the sea; and that it shall be permitted them, by virtue of this safe-conduct of the king, to take and carry with them gold and silver, horses and clothes, and arms, and dogs, and hawks, and anything which they ought to carry from the land; and that no other treaty or fealty ought to be demanded, by force or fraud, from the bishop or his people; nor should they be constrained to do otherwise than the said bishop and his men have promised to Roger Putavensis. The bishop pledged his faith to Roger Putavensis, that if he, by virtue of this agreement abovewritten, should reconduct the bishop to his castle, and the castle should have been strengthened either in men, or in munitions, or in its fortifications, beyond what it was at that day, then the bishop would cause it to be entirely destroyed, so that by this means neither should the bishop be a gainer or the king a loser, and that before the bishop set out upon his journey towards the court, he would not, to his knowledge, seek or do aught to the damage of the king until the feast of St. Michael."

Moreover, by the bishop's command, seven men made oath to Roger Putavensis (who received the oath in the stead of the king), that should the bishop refuse to accept right judgment, as is aforesaid, and should prefer to cross the sea, they would deliver up the castle of Durham. The bishop for his part pledged his faith to Roger Putavensis, that he would observe this agreement with the king so long as the earls then assembled were in attendance upon him, without any fraudulent intention, excepting in regard to the plea which he was about to institute against the king. The earls promised the bishop upon their fealty, that the king would observe this agreement, and that the commencement of the plea should not be delayed longer either than the next feast of Michaelmas, unless by the consent of the bishop, or than such time as the lawful judges in the said suits between the king and the bishop should decide might justly be arranged. And should any of the bishop's men or horses happen to fall sick, they and their keepers should have the king's protection as long as they should be detained by illness; and afterwards the bishop's other men should either follow the bishop by the king's conduct, or such of them as pleased, by the bishop's consent, to remain behind and to do fealty to the king, should remain in peace with all their attendants. But if the king should in any way infringe the aforesaid agreement upon the part of the earls, or any one of them by their will and consent should do so, then they should have no further advantage therefrom until the bishop should freely absolve them therefrom, without violence or fraud.

This agreement having been made, the pleadings were respited on both sides until the fourth of the nones of November [2d Nov.], upon which day the bishop came to Salisbury; and when Urso de Habetot[1] (one of the king's servants) wished him to go in to the king, the bishop sent before him his messengers to the king, and entreated him to grant him leave to confer with some of his fellow-bishops; for none of them, as they stated, ventured either to kiss him, or speak to him, a thing of which the bishop had already had experience in his own metropolitan. The king however refused to do this himself, nor did any of the others offer him this token of brotherhood, although enjoined by the holy see. The bishop having at length gone in, inquired of the archbishops whether he should make his entry in his vestments, and he remarked that he would be doing nothing there excepting what was canonical, and according to his order, and such as it appeared to him that the custom of the church required, if he in his vestments should plead his cause before them in their vestments, and should reply according to the canons to those who were his accusers. Archbishop Lanfranc made answer, "We who are thus revested are fully competent to discuss the king's affairs and your's; for vestments are no hindrance to truth."

Thereupon the bishop, rising up, entreated the king to restore him his see, of which he had deprived him without judgment. When the king kept silence, Lanfranc replied thus: "The king has deprived you of none of your bishopric, nor has any one through him; nor have you ever seen writ of his by which he has dispossessed you of your see, or has commanded that you should be dispossessed." The bishop answered: "I have seen Roger Paganell (who is here present), and he by the king's writ dispossessed me of the whole of that portion of my bishopric which is situated within the county of York; and when, by my letters and messengers, I entreated the king to restore me my property, and, if he had any cause for complaint against me, that he would proceed against me by law as one of his bishops,—yet the king has made me no return, but distributed the lands of the church amongst his barons at his pleasure. And afterwards when, in my own person, I offered the king ample justice in his own court, and had received from him a decided negative, not only did he keep what he had before taken from me, but gave further orders that I should be deprived of what remained; and he sent sealed letters, addressed to his barons in our neighbourhood, urging and commanding them to do me all the mischief they possibly could inflict. And since even this was not enough, he sent earls and barons with his army, and they ravaged the whole of my see, and deprived me of my lands and md men, and the money of St. Cuthbert and my own, and compelley me for a time to abjure my see; and the tenants of the church, who were my liege men, and whose entire property is held of the church, made war upon me by the king's orders; and whilst they are holding their lands of the king in peace, I perceive them assembled here against me upon the king's side."

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[1] See Dugd. Baron. i. 462.

Lanfranc made answer: "The king invites you to right yourself, and his barons have brought you here that you may do him right, and yet you require him, in the first instance, to do right to you. My advice to you however is, that you should in the first place do right to him, and then you may ask of him that which you now require."

The bishop replied in the following terms: "My lord archbishop, what you now say, let me ask whether you now offer it as advice, or pronounce it as judgment?"

"Of a truth," said he, "I do not pronounce it as sentence; yet, if the king was of my way of thinking, he would very speedily cause sentence to be pronounced in these terms."

Thereupon the laity, emboldened by these words of Lanfranc, who was primate of all England, called out against the bishop, saying, that it was unjust for the king to answer the bishop before the latter had done justice to the former. Whilst the laity were shouting out and repeating these words, the bishop, having obtained silence, spoke thus: "My lord barons and laymen, permit me, I entreat you, to state to the archbishops and bishops the answer which I am about to make to the king; for to you I have nothing to say. As I did not come here to-day to hear your decision, so I entirely refuse to accept it; and even admitting that it were pleasing to the king, the archbishops, and the bishops, that you should be present here at this conference, there was no need why you should speak evil of me."

Then the king said: "I had fully expected that the bishop would, in the first instance, have made answer to me as to those matters respecting which I accuse him; and I am much astonished to find that he requires the opposite to this."

Hereupon the earl Alan and the earl Roger said: "We have brought the bishop hither that he may do right to the king."

"I am quite prepared," said the bishop, "to answer like a plundered man, if only I may be judged according to the canons; for no inducement will tempt me to transgress the law of my order in this suit."

Then Roger Bigod[1] said to the king: "You ought to tell the bishop of what crime it is that you accuse him; after which, if he consents to answer, upon that answer of his you may cause him to be judged; but if not, do what your barons advise you to do in this matter."

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[1] See Dugd. Baron. i. 132.

Hereupon the bishop replied: "I have already told you, and I repeat it, that I entirely reject the judgment of the laity, and everything which is contrary to the canons; nor will I accept any accusation until I shall have been previously invested in my bishopric, or it shall have been canonically adjudged that, before my investiture, I ought to be amerced, and to answer, and to have sentence pronounced."

Hereupon Hugh de Beaumont[1] rose up by the king's orders, and said to the bishop: "The appeal which the king brings against you is this: that when he heard that his enemies were marching against him, and his subjects (that is to say, the bishop of Baieux,[2] and earl Roger, and many others) were ready to deprive him of his realm and his crown, and when he, by your counsel, was advancing to meet them, then he, in my hearing, summoned you to march with him; to which you made answer, that you would willingly march along with him, accompanied by seven knights who at that time were in your company, and that you would send to your castle for more with all speed: and yet, after this, you fled from his court without his permission, carrying off with you some of your household; and so you made a defection from him at his greatest need. Hereupon he desires that you should do to him what his court shall award you to do; and, if need requires it, he is ready after this to advance other accusations."

The bishop replied in these words: "Hugh, you may say what you please; but I will make no answer to you to-day, nor will I receive any accusation, nor will I engage in any plea, until it shall have been justly adjudicated that I, a plundered man, ought to plead, or until I shall have been canonically invested in the bishopric. After this, I will freely answer whatever matters the king may bring against me; and, whatever I have done, I will prove that I have done it according to law; and I will make it plain that in no respect whatever have I departed from the dictates of justice."

Now, whilst the laity were in a state of great excitement, and some were plying the bishop with arguments, and some with abuse, and he answered them not a word, the bishop of Coutance[3] said: "It is not fitting, my lord archbishops, that we should any longer sit in deliberation upon these matters. It would become us better were we to rise up, and assemble the bishops and abbots, and to associate with ourselves some of these barons and earls, and along with them arrive at a decision according to law, whether the bishop ought to be previously invested, or whether he ought to be impleaded as to the accusations which the king brings against him before he is invested."

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[1] See Dugd. Baron. i. 85.

[2] A reference to the rebellion raised against William Rufus, concerning which see the Saxon Chronicle and Florence under the year 1088, and William of Malmesbury's History of the Kings, § 306.

[3] Geoffrey de Montbray, concerning whom see Gallia Christ. xi. 870. At this time he was in possession of the earldom of Northumberland, Dugd. Baron. i. 56.

Archbishop Lanfranc replied: "It is unnecessary that we should arise; but if the bishop and his men will go out, we, as well the clergy as the laity, will remain behind, and deliberate among ourselves what course justice requires us to adopt."

"I," said the bishop, "will withdraw willingly; but I caution you, archbishops and bishops, that whatever you do in my cause, you do it according to the regulations and the canons, and that you do not admit into conference with you those persons whom the decrees and the canons have declared to have no voice in pronouncing judgment upon bishops."

"You may go," said archbishop Lanfranc. "Whatever we do, we will do according to right."

Hugh de Beaumont said to the bishop, "If I am prevented this day from adjudicating respecting you and your order, you and your order shall never henceforth sit in judgment upon me."

"I warn you, however," said the bishop, "you who remain in this house, and are about to pass sentence upon me, that in your judgment you proceed according to the canons; for if you act in opposition to them, I will entirely reject the decision."

So the bishop and his followers withdrew, whilst the king and his bishops, and earls, and sheriffs, and provosts, and huntsmen, and his other officers of different grades, abode in the court, into which, after a very considerable delay, the bishop was recalled; and when he had returned, Thomas, the archbishop of York, said: "My lord bishop, our archbishop and the court of the king have decided that you ought to do right to the king before he reinvests you in your feof."

The bishop replied: "When I was a petitioner for the investiture of my bishopric, I was plundered without any summons or sentence; and, in order that I might be adjudicated upon, I went out of this house, and it is upon this point that I require judgment, for as for the matter of my feof I have not spoken one word to-day to any one about it, nor has any one spoken to me."

The same archbishop answered: "This court adjudges that the king ought not to give you seizin in anything before you do him right."

The bishop's reply was this: "I should be glad to see any canonical sentence which would prove to me that this judgment is canonical; for I have never either learned or heard of a judgment of this sort, neither in ecclesiastical cases nor in any christian law. And were I to submit to a sentence which is contrary to the canons, I should commit a grievous sin against the holy church of God, and the holy order of the priesthood. It might perhaps do no great harm at this present time to myself individually; but my example would be very prejudicial hereafter: and therefore produce to me, I entreat you, some definite sentence by which I may be assured of its truth."

Then archbishop Lanfranc said: "The decision is a just one; it is necessary that you must do one of two things, either assent to it and obey, or gainsay it."

The bishop rejoined: "I should be glad if the king and yo would consent that I might have some conference with certain of these bishops, that I may either do what they advise me to do, or leave undone what they dissuade me from."

Archbishop Lanfranc said: "The bishops are acting as judges, and you must not ask them to deliberate with you."

The bishop replied: "I entreat the king to grant me this favour, and them too I entreat, that of their brotherly love they would advise with me."

The king answered: "Consult with your own friends; of our side not one single individual shall confer with you."

The bishop replied: "These seven men, who stand with me, have but little counsel to weigh against the power and the wisdom of the whole of this realm, which I see ranged against me."

After the bishop had asked from the council leave to withdraw, and when he had gone out with his followers, he said to the archbishop on his return: "I entirely reject the sentence which has been here pronounced against me, because it has been done in opposition to the canons of our law; for neither have I been canonically cited hither, but I stand here constrained by the violence of the king's army; I am despoiled of my see, and am out of my own province, and all the inhabitants of my province are absent from me. I am compelled to plead my cause in a lay assembly, and my enemies (who have refused to give me their advice and to confer with me, and have denied me the kiss of peace) reject my statements, and assume me to have said what I never did say; they are at the same time my accusers and my judges; and I find in our law that I am forbidden to accept such a sentence as this is; although (such is my folly!) I wish I could accept it. The archbishop and my primate, out of their respect to God and their order, and out of love to myself, ought to restrain me from such an act of presumption. And since I perceive that the king's dislike to me has made you all my enemies, I appeal to the apostolic see of Rome, and the holy church, and the blessed Peter, and his vicar, that, by means of his decision, my business may obtain a just settlement; for to his adjudication the primitive authority of the apostles and their successors, and the canons, has reserved the greater ecclesiastical causes, and the judgment of bishops.

Then said the archbishop Lanfranc: "We are not adjudicating respecting your episcopal functions, but as to your feof; and in this same manner did we pass sentence heretofore in the time of this king's father, upon the bishop of Baieux,[1] in respect of his feof; nor did the king address him by the designation of 'bishop' in that plea, but styled him 'brother' and 'earl.'"

The bishop answered: "My lord archbishop, I have made no mention to-day of my feof, nor have I said that I possessed any; but my complaint had reference to my having been dispossessed of my bishopric, and on that head I am still a complainant."

The archbishop rejoined: "Even admitting that I never heard you mention your feof, I am still well aware that you hold a large feof, and it is with reference to this that we have adjudged you."

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[1] See Malmesbury's Hist. of the Kings, § 277. Dugd. Baron. i. 23.

The bishop said: "My lord archbishop, I now learn that you have dismissed all my pleas, and have judged me according to your conscience; and although, by God's grace, you are very wise and very celebrated, I confess that in this matter your wisdom is so very lofty and mine so lowly, that I cannot attain unto it. However, if the king and you will permit my departure, my wish is to visit the apostolic see, to which I have been constrained of necessity to appeal."

"If you will withdraw," said the archbishop, "the king will deliberate with his advisers, and he will let you know his pleasure."

The bishop went out, and when he had been summoned to return, Hugh de Beaumont arose, and addressed him in the following terms: "My lord bishop, the king's court and these barons adjudicate for you, according to true judgment, since you refuse to answer them upon the matters respecting which the king has impleaded you through me; but you invite him to remove the suit to Rome, consequently herein you have forfeited your feof."

The bishop replied, "I am prepared to purge myself of every crime and perjury in every place in which, not violence, but justice has the sway; and when I am in the court of Rome I shall prove that the sentence which you have here pronounced is a false and unjust judgment."

Hugh answered: "I and my compeers are prepared to confirm our judgment in this court."

Upon this the bishop rejoined: "For the present I will bring no plea into this court; for however true might be my allegations, there is nothing which those who favour the king would not deprave and pervert; for instead of reverencing the apostolic authority, even after I have appealed thereto, they oppress me with an unrighteous sentence; but to Rome I go, to sue for the aid of God and St. Peter."

Hereupon the king said: "For the present my decree is, that you would surrender to me your castle, since you refuse to abide by the sentence of my court."

To this the bishop answered: "I am not aware that I ever entered into any treaty with you which binds me to surrender my castle to you, unless I would refuse to abide by a canonical judgment; and, in the event of a dispute arising respecting this sentence, that then I should fail in betaking myself to that quarter whence I might expect to receive a final decision of the matter in agitation. Here I am ready to oppose in the church of Rome every sentence that has been pronounced against me; from which church now depends, and from the time of the apostles ever has depended until now, a definitive sentence respecting my order."

The king said: "By the face of Lucca,[1] you shall never escape from my hands until I have this castle."

To this the bishop answered: "My lord king, I have permitted three of your sergeants to deprive me of my own lands and my church's money, whilst I had one hundred of my knights at my back, and in no matter whatever have I offered any opposition;

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[1] See Malmesbury's Hist. of the Kings, §§ 309, 317, 320.

and now, when nothing remains to me of my bishopric, excepting the city in which the episcopal see is fixed, of that also you wish to deprive me. But I will offer no resistance to you, save by the power of God. I entreat you, however, in the name of God, and of St. Peter, and of his vicar the lord pope, not to deprive me of this; for I am prepared to give good pledges and security that those men of mine, whom I wish to leave therein during my journey to Rome, shall keep it in fealty to yourself, and, if you desire it, shall serve you faithfully."

Then the king said: "Be assured of it for a truth, bishop, you shall not on any account return to Durham, nor shall your men under any pretence remain in Durham, nor shall you escape from my hands until you have given up that castle of yours to me unconditionally."

"I have entire confidence," said the bishop, "in the assurance which these earls gave me; which was, that I should be brought back to my church in safety. The terms of the condition have been confirmed between us, and they themselves admitted them in your presence during the lawsuit."

Hereupon archbishop Lanfranc said to the king: "If the bishop any longer refuses to surrender his castle to you, you are fully justified in making him your prisoner; for the safe-conduct, which had hitherto protected him, he renders invalid, by being himself the first to break the terms of the agreement; and what he is now driving at is this, to induce your barons to keep their faith at your cost."

Then Ralph Piperell[1] and all the laity cried out with one voice: "Lay hold of him; lay hold of him, for this old turnkey has well spoken."

When earl Alan heard this, he rose up and said: "It was I who brought the bishop from his castle, and conducted him hither to the king's court, and I did so upon this condition, to which I pledged my faith, that if the king would not consent to a sentence which could not justly be set aside, dealing with him as with one of his bishops; then, in that case, I would convey him and all his men back in safety to his castle. But if the king should offer him an arrangement which could not in justice be contradicted, dealing with him as with one of his bishops, and he either would not or could not submit to it, that then the king should provide him and his followers with ships and a harbour, at any point of the coast at the bishop's discretion, between Exeter and Sandwich, and that it should be lawful for him to take with him all his men and their money—such of them at least as he wished should accompany him, and such of them as were willing to go,—in safety and under the king's safe-conduct, and that this should be in force until they and their property should have passed the sea, and landed on the other side. Such being the facts of the case, I urgently entreat my lord the king not to cause me herein to break my faith, for if so, my services will be valueless to him for the future."

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[1] Probably Ralph Peverel of Nottingham, concerning whom see Dugd. Baron. i. 436.

Whilst the earls Roger and Odo were joining in the same petition, archbishop Lanfranc said: "The king has fully released you from your obligation, for he has offered the bishop full justice, which has been rejected, as you yourselves have heard. Further, he has invited the king to go to Rome, contrary to the law. Let the bishop therefore admit that just judgment has been done to him, and that he has refused to follow it; and then the king will provide him with ships and a safe-conduct."

The bishop replied: "I remind you earls, that you pledged me your faith, that you would take charge of me if I came with you, and that you would conduct me back to Durham; for the king refuses to do me right, and this I am prepared to prove in the church of Rome."

"It is unjust," said Lanfranc, "that the king's plea or judgment should be continued longer in consequence of any such gainsaying; it is necessary, that whenever a suit is commenced in his court, it should either be submitted to or gainsaid; you must, therefore, either assent to this our decision, or give reasons for dissenting."

"Herein," said the bishop, "I have the best reasons for dissenting, and at Rome I desire to give my reasons for this rejection of your sentence; to Rome I am bound to appeal, and there justice and not violence is dominant. And since there is not one single individual amongst you all, who dares, either as judge or witness, to utter a single word which may be displeasing to the king, I invoke, as my witness, the law of Christ, which I have here in writing; since I may produce no other witnesses, and it testifies that I may in all justice go to Rome, as I have said, and that the final decision of this cause may emanate from the authority of the Roman pontiff."

The king said: "You may talk as you please, still you shall not escape out of my hands, until you have delivered up the castle to me."

"You have not only deprived me of my see," rejoined the bishop, "and unjustly deprived me of all my property; but you are now bent upon plundering me of my episcopal residence, despite all I can do to avoid it. You may imprison me if you will."

Hereupon a day was fixed, upon which the bishop should remove his men out of his city, and the king should place his own soldiers therein; and then the bishop said to the king: "My lord the king, I beg to be informed by you, whether you intend to make any allowance to me out of my bishopric for my necessary support?"

Archbishop Lanfranc replied: "You are going to Rome to injure the king, and to bring disgrace upon the whole of us; and do you venture to ask the king to give up a portion of your land to you? Stay at home in your own country, and then he will restore to you all your diocese excepting the city, upon condition that you will do him justice in his court, according to the decision of his barons."

"I," said the bishop, "have already appealed to the apostolic see, since in the king's court I can have no just judgment, and nothing shall prevent me from going thither."

The archbishop replied: "If you go to Rome without the king's permission, we will advise with him what ought to be done with your diocese."

The bishop answered: "The advice which you are now giving him is not for my good, and you may tell him whatever you think fit; but before I go hence, I am ready, before all these barons, to purge myself from all crime and perjury, and to defend myself by every means in my power from the charge of having knowingly done, or intended to do, aught whatever to the injury of the king, in his person or his lands; nor have I in this respect pledged myself to any person, or received a pledge from any person; and the moment that I was made aware of the injury which had been inflicted upon him, I warned him thereof upon the very earliest opportunity I could so do; and I aided him faithfully against his enemies; and I am prepared to prove that all this I did according to law. I shall prove that Dover and Hastings, which he had nearly lost, preserved their fidelity towards him through my means. London also, which had already risen in rebellion against him, I appeased, and made it faithful to him. I brought him twelve of the most important of its citizens, that through them he might the more easily influence the rest; and that I have done this, I shall establish by the evidence of his own barons, if he will permit them: and I am urgent with him, first, that he would allow me, at this present time, to make the purgation which I have mentioned; and next, that he would authorize me to make due proof of my service; and lastly, that he would sanction me in having the testimony of several of the bishops here present to this my purgation, and would consent to their becoming witnesses thereto."

Whilst the bishop was urging this with much earnestness, and the king as constantly refused, archbishop Lanfranc said to the bishop: "It would be much better for you, if you were to place yourself entirely at the king's mercy, in which case I would willingly throw myself at his feet on your behalf."

Upon this the bishop answered: "I do indeed very earnestly entreat his mercy, and beseech him, that for the love of God, and for the honour of holy church, he would cause the judgments, which have been here unjustly pronounced, to the danger of God's holy church, and to the confusion of holy orders, and to the disgrace of the law of Christ, to be amended according to law; and if he will do this, I will serve him willingly, and will pay him some of my money, if he will accept it."

"Place yourself unreservedly at the king's mercy," said the archbishop, "and give up all further opposition to the sentence of his court."

The bishop answered: "Far be it from me, either to accept or yield to a judgment which is contrary to the canons; nay, which is destructive of them."

"Let the bishop," said the king, "give me security that, when he is over the sea, he will neither himself plot anything to my damage, nor sanction others in so doing; and that neither my brother,[1] nor any of his followers, will endamage me by detaining against the consent of the sailors, the ships which I shall provide for the bishop's use."

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[1] Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy.

The bishop answered: "My lord, the earls promised me, upon their faith, that neither I, nor any man, should be constrained to give any security, either by force or fraud, in addition to that pledge which we gave at Durham; and this security which you now demand, I will on no account give, unless I am constrained thereto by force."

Reginald Paganell said: "Of a truth your earls did make the promise of which the bishop has been speaking; and it is fitting that you should hold them thereto."

"Hold your tongue," said the king; "no man's promise shall induce me to lose my ships; but if the bishop will acknowledge that he gives me security in this matter, I will ask for none besides his own."

"I am prepared to admit," said the bishop, "that I have pledged my faith to your barons on many points; it is neither fitting for you to ask for more, nor for me to give more."

Hereupon the king became angry, and said: "By the face of Lucca, you shall not cross the sea this year, unless you first give me the pledge which I require about the ships."

"Rather than remain here in prison," said the bishop, "I would willingly pledge myself to this; yea, and to much more, were it necessary; but let all hear, and remember that I do this against my will, and am constrained thereto by the fear of imprisonment."

So the bishop gave the security, and then asked for the ships, and a safe-conduct; whereupon the king answered: "You shall have no safe-conduct, and you shall stay at Wilton until I have the assurance that the castle is in my hands; then, but not till then, you shall have the ships and a safe-conduct."

The bishop answered: "Since I am prevented from doing as I wish to do, and ought to do, I submit to this arrangement which you propose; but it is an act of injustice. I do so by constraint."

Then William de Merlay[1] rose, and said to the king: "My lord, the bishop's retainers who are in his castle carried off from my lord the bishop of Coutance two hundred head of cattle, which were under your safe-conduct, before the bishop came here at this time to your court; and my lord the bishop has required them to pay him their value, which they have refused to do. Since then, Walter de Haiencorn has demanded, in your name, that the money should be paid, and they have still refused; and, therefore, my petition is, that you would cause this sum of money to be paid to my master."

The king rejoined: "Let these barons decide whether I can justly implead the bishop."

Then archbishop Lanfranc said: "It would be unjust should you implead him any further, since he holds nothing of you; and he ought to have his safe-conduct."

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[1] William de Merlay, lord of Morpeth, had been in the service of the bishop of Coutance, while the latter had possession of the earldom of Northumberland. Dugd. Baron. i. 570.

So the bishop departed for the day, that he might select a harbour at which to embark; but he was to return upon the morrow. Upon the morrow he asked earl Alan to arrange for him that he might have the ships at the port of Hampton; which when the king heard, he said to the bishop: "You well know, bishop, that until I have your castle in my hands, you shall never cross the sea; for the bishop of Baieux taught me a sure lesson in matters of this sort. Be sure, therefore, that my men are put in possession of the castle of Durham by the eighteenth of the kalends of December [14th Nov.]; and if by that day my men hold it as in my power, then without any further scruple or delay, you shall have the ships and the safe-conduct."

Then, in the bishop's hearing, he commanded Gilbert the sheriff, and earl Alan, and the others of his barons, that upon the eleventh of the kalends of December [21st Nov.] he should provide the bishop with as many ships at Hampton as were requisite for the conveyance of himself and his men across the sea. But the bishop said to earl Alan: "My lord earl, do you and your associates take care (for I am under your security for my safe-conduct) that I am not subject to any further annoyance beyond this period; and so long as I continue in England, pray provide me with one trustworthy man who will supply me with a residence, and protect me from inconveniences; so that you on your parts will have discharged your engagements, and I, on mine, will be free from further disturbance."

Earl Alan replied: "The king will do this for you, by one of his own servants."

So the bishop remained at Wilton, and Robert de Countville[1] was appointed to see about his household affairs, and to conduct him safely to Hampton at the appointed time, to embark and wait for a fair wind. So Ivo Taillesbosc[2] and Ernes de Burone[3] took the castle of Durham into the king's hands, and dispossessed the bishop of his castle and all his land, upon the eighteenth of the kalends of December [14th Nov.]; and they delivered over into the custody of the bishop's soldiers Helpo, the king's cross-bowman, and the king's letters-patent which contained these words:—

"William, the king of the English, to all his faithful subjects throughout all England, sends greeting.

"I have to intimate to you, that the bishop of Durham and all his men have my protection throughout all the realm of England, and by my permission, and in my protection, they have crossed the sea. Wherefore, I forbid all men who are under my power from doing them any injury."

Now, when the bishop's men thought themselves in a state of perfect safety, in consequence of the security given by the earls, and by the king's seal, and the safe-conduct of Helpo,—Ivo Taillesbosc took two of the bishop's men and compelled them to plead about the cattle of the bishop of Coutance, about which it had already been decided, in the presence of the king, that the bishop of Durham ought not to answer; and besides this, Ivo Taillesbosc caused one of the bishop's knights, who was under the protection of the safe-conduct, to be plundered of his horse.

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[1] Robertus de Comitis-villa, *Orig.*
[2] See Ingulf, p. 706.
[3] See Dugd. Baron. i. 518.

Upon the eleventh of the kalends of December [21st Nov.], the bishop requested Gilbert and Robert to deliver over the ships to him, and permit him to sail along with Roger de Mowbray, who had to embark at the same time; but they replied, that they could give him no ship; and they told him, that they had been strictly charged by the king to keep him, the bishop, in safe-ward, and not to permit him to escape out of the king's hands, until they should receive from himself instructions as to his disposal, which would be forwarded to them in letters sealed with the royal signet. So they kept the bishop in ward until the sixth of the kalends of December [26th Nov.], on which day Robert conveyed him to Hampton, and on his arrival there the bishop wished to embark; for the wind was favourable, and everything seemed prosperous for the voyage. But the king's servants, whom we have mentioned, refused to provide ships for the bishop, and to permit him to go on board; but next day, when they perceived that the wind had subsided, they gave him leave to embark, and provided him with shipping. So the bishop paid the freight and waited for the wind, after which there came to him O[smund] bishop of Salisbury, and Robert de Insula, and Richard de Cultura, and upon the [ ][1] of the kalends of December, they summoned him in the king's name to appear in the king's court in London at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord [25th Dec.], and do him justice in respect to Geoffrey, a monk of the bishop, who, after his master had come to the court, had removed from the bishop's demesnes eighty-nine head of cattle, and had carried off the stores of the castle, and in respect to some other of his men, who had murdered one of the king's soldiers. The bishop answered to this effect: "I did none of these things, and I and my men have a secure safe-conduct, nor can I again go to his court, for he has deprived me of all I possessed; I have sold my horses and eaten up the money; but if he permits me and my men to depart, and preserves the faith pledged by his earls, I will, by God's mercy, proceed to the church of Rome, to which I have been constrained of my necessity to appeal. But if not; before I am apprehended, here, in the sight of you all, I will make oath in respect to all these accusations which you bring against my men, that not one of these things was done either by my orders, or by my knowledge; although I might have done so with justice—for I might deal with my own as I pleased, until I was dispossessed of my see by the king."

Then the king's ministers said to the bishop: "We simply refuse to permit you to have the ships." To which the bishop rejoined: "The king has deprived me of all my land and all my ready money; and if he is inclined to deprive me of my men also, I will not go to law with him for one of them; but, if he will permit me, I will cross the seas alone."

The bishop despatched one of his knights to the king, and entreated him, by the love of God and St. Peter, to permit him to depart for Rome, But the king sent the bishop of Winchester,[1] and Hugh de Port,[2] and Geoffrey de Trailly[3] to him, commanding him, by them, to cause Geoffrey the monk to go to Durham, there to be impleaded respecting the transgressions which we have already mentioned, and that he should proceed to London, there, at Christmas, to do the king justice respecting his men.

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[1] Blank in the MS.

The bishop replied as follows: "From the time when I made an agreement with the king's earls, I have been, without interruption, in his custody; and the earls pledged me their faith, that, if the castle of Durham were delivered to the king, then I, and such of my men as pleased to accompany me, should have a safe-conduct, and ships, and a harbour, and that no one should detain me, or delay me against my own will. Since the king has now obtained possession of Durham, and we have come to the port under the safe-conduct of the king and the earls, and have received the ships by the king's orders, and paid money for them, and are on our way to Rome to petition the apostolic see; the man who detains us is guilty of a great sin. And yet I am prepared to purge myself before you without delay, to the effect that none of the things which you lay to my charge were done by my orders, or even by my knowledge; or that I have had, or expect to have, the value of a single loaf of bread therefrom; and this, I repeat, I am ready to do, if hereupon you will authorize my departure. If after this the king insists upon detaining my men, they must even endure whatever he may think fit to inflict upon them; for nothing shall prevent me from going to Rome, if I succeed in being delivered from this imprisonment."

Then the king's servants caused the bishop to be imprisoned day and night; and the bishop, becoming dispirited, sent a message to the earls Alan, and Roger, and Odo, informing them of his difficulties; and he urged them, by the faith which they had received in baptism, and that which they had pledged to him, to deliver him from his confinement, and to provide for him, without further delay, ships, and a port, and a safe-conduct: and to make him due amends for the hindrance and damage which he had unjustly sustained. At length the king granted a passage to the bishop by their entreaties.

In the eighth year of his episcopate, he was expelled from England; but he was honourably received by the king's brother, Robert, the earl of Normandy, who intrusted him with the management of the whole of that earldom. But having been reconciled with the king in the third year afterwards, he was restored to his see by the king himself and his brother, and the whole of the army of England, (who then were marching into Scotland against Malcolm,) upon the very day upon which he had been expelled from it. Upon the second year of his return, upon the third of the ides[4] of September, he destroyed from its foundation the church which had formerly been erected by bishop Aldun; and in the following year, (that is to say, in the year one thousand and ninety-three from our Lord's incarnation,) he commenced another of a better style of masonry. This was in the thirteenth year of his episcopate, in the eleventh after he had collected the monks at Durham; and in this year he and prior Turgot (who was second in authority after himself in the church) laid the foundation-stones of the new fabric, upon the third of the ides of August [11th Aug.], being the fifth day of the week. Malcolm, king of the Scots, was also present at the same time, and assisted them in laying the foundation-stones. In the third year after the commencement of the church, he was attacked at Windsor, upon Christmas day, with a disease of more than usual severity, where, having been frequently visited by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, of holy memory, (who received the confession of his sins, and gave him absolution, and frequently blessed him,) he received the unction, and was strengthened by the Eucharist administered to him by Thomas, archbishop of York, and Walchelin and John, the bishops of Winchester and Bath. He departed during the night of the fourth of the nones of January [2d Jan.], after having completed the sixteenth year in the bishopric, and two months all but two days; that is, in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and ninety-six, and in the thirteenth year after the monks had been collected at Durham. His body was conveyed from Windsor to Durham, where, upon the thirteenth of the kalends of February [16th Jan.], it was buried in the chapter-house of the monks.

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[1] Walkeline, bishop of Winchester.
[2] Dugd. Baron. i. 463.
[3] Id. i. 543.
[4] September 11th, being the octaves of St. Cuthbert.

CONCERNING THE INTRUDER DURING THE TIME OF BISHOP WILLIAM THE SECOND.[1]

It happened that upon his death the church was assailed with a fierce tempest. For there was a certain clerk, the chancellor of the king of Scotland, who had had some previous acquaintance with the bishop before he had succeeded to the episcopate, and who had been his secretary, and had educated him from his youth up. A short time before his death, this man came to Durham, and entered into friendly intercourse with the bishop, and when he perceived that he was drawing near to his end, he took either a pledge or an oath from all the clerks of the bishop's household, and from the keepers of the castle, that they would surrender it to him on the bishop's decease. So soon, therefore, as the bishop was dead, this person compelled them to keep the corpse secret until he should have had a conference with the king of Scotland, in order that he might become possessed of the bishopric by the king's assistance. But as the body could not be preserved so long unless it were disembowelled, this was done by the bishop's attendants, and the matter was kept secret from the monks from the third day of the week until the sixth.[2] For this person having returned from the [Scottish] court, the prior and the monks were admitted into the castle, which he now held at his disposal. All this time the entire realm was in a state of great confusion, for whilst king Stephen was besieging the earl of Chester within Lincoln, the earl escaped, and having joined himself with the earl of Gloucester, and such others as favoured the claims of the empress, they returned to that city. Having engaged the king in battle, he, being deserted by his troops, was taken prisoner, yet not without some loss on the side of his captors. For he was a powerful man, and one who at that time had no equal in military affairs. Now, when he had been put into prison, the empress, king Henry's daughter, was very favourably received by the Londoners. Having discovered this, David, king of Scotland, joined her at her court, accompanied by his chancellor, who had induced the king by a bribe to urge his suit with the empress. It pleased him to style himself the bishop-elect of Durham, a title by which he was addressed without scruple by his flatterers, who flocked to him from all quarters. Having established himself at the court, the empress was induced to yield her assent through the instrumentality of the king of Scotland and other of his advocates. Having attained this point, he was in daily expectation of being

[1] The following Continuation of the History of Simeon is taken from Twysden's edition; as it differs in many respects from that contained in the Durham MS., it is here given entire.

[2] See p. 718.

invested with the episcopal staff by the empress; but at the very time at which the court was being assembled, a sudden uproar arose, which was originated by the king's adherents; and the empress having discovered that it was a plot of the Londoners, fled with all her attendants. Not long afterwards, when she was residing at Winchester, she was there besieged by the Londoners, who had summoned the queen, and had assigned London to her. Here the barons, who flocked from all parts to support each his own faction, joined battle, in which Robert, earl of Gloucester, was taken prisoner, the king of Scotland was put to flight, and the others driven hither and thither. In consequence of this capture, the king recovered his liberty. When the king of Scotland was on his way homewards, the aforesaid chancellor remained at Durham for the three years during which the bishopric continued void, his actions giving proof of the character of the motives which induced him to desire that see, and those would have been even yet more transparent, had not they been restrained by his hope of securing the diocese. He left behind him in the see many tokens of his greediness, I might add, of his cruelty. Yet to the monks he was invariably pleasant and affable, for from them he expected his promotion. In this, however, he was disappointed.

In the second year the prior of the church went to York, at the advice of the chapter, which had previously instructed him that the other inmates of the house would assent to the election of any individual who should be chosen by himself, the prior, and the seniors of the church; but that the decision of the chapter was, that those persons who adhered to William ought first to be excommunicated. Messengers were then despatched to Rome, to make the pope acquainted with the facts of the case; and having received from him a precept that they might elect whom they pleased, they assembled within the church of York (for they were prevented from holding their meeting in that of Durham), and having assembled the religious persons of the bishopric, the prior, the archdeacon, and the other members of the church [of Durham] elected as their bishop the dean of the same church [of York], in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and fourty-four.

At this time the bishop of Winchester was legate of the apostolic see, and the men of Durham depended chiefly upon his aid and advice against the person who had invaded the bishopric, who had, moreover, been excommunicated, along with his adherents, by the legate. When the bishop-elect of Durham was presented to him, he received him honourably, and induced his brother the king to yield his assent to his election, whose goodwill having been secured, he consecrated him upon the twelfth of the kalends of July [20th June],[1] seven bishops taking part in the solemnity. After his consecration he returned to York, and he published his sentence of excommunication against those persons who invaded the church. Presently, some of the barons of the diocese submitted to him as their lord, one of whom, Roger de Coigners, immediately erected a fortress within the bishopric, into which, if occasion so required it,

[1] A.D. 1143.

the bishop and his men might betake themselves for refuge. But even if the invaders of the church had shown any wish to repent, the bishop would have been constrained by his own men to have fortified himself within this stronghold. In the meantime, they who held the castle of Durham ceased not from carrying off booty, from attacking the troops who were marching to the bishop, and from waylaying travellers. If they found among them any of the richer classes, who wished to find their way to the bishop, they immediately kept them in torture until they purchased their ransom. Every day the most scrutinising search was carried on, and the more money a man had, the greater was the demand made upon him. The soldiers, who were kept in pay by the intruder, did just as they pleased, and in trying to satisfy their cupidity by every method in their power, they extracted the money from those who had it by pains and torments. The appearance of the city was wretched, for every house within its walls exhibited traces of tortures having been inflicted, just as if the tyrants of all bygone ages had congregated therein. In one place you might have seen some extended upon the rack, some were suspended by their privy members, some were shut up within little chests with stones beneath them, and nearly crushed to death. In the depth of winter some were stripped naked, and bound with ropes out-of-doors, while their feet were fastened to posts fixed inside the house. The person who had surrendered the castle (he was the bishop's nephew) was put to death with the most refined cruelty, thereby paying the debt which he owed to St. Cuthbert; for he admitted within the castle the very man who invaded the church to her ruin. The intruder added yet this to his wickedness, that he removed from the church such of the monks as had shown a kind feeling towards the bishop. He did so in consequence of the multitude of soldiers who flocked to the bishop from all quarters, induced either by the hope of gain, or by his exhortations, or out of regard to his integrity and piety—for he was remarkable for his religion and prudence; so that the invader was under the necessity of experiencing the pressure of these auxiliaries, whose aid was thrown upon the side of the barons; and thus the man who would not yield to the fear of God, was constrained to yield to the fear of man.

Having speedily appeared before Durham in a considerable force, they lost no time in preparing to fortify the borough,[1] and this led to a hand-to-hand conflict with those of the enemy who were within the city. This design of theirs was hindered by the earl of Richmond, who had been taken into the pay of the invader, and who attempted by private messages to induce the bishop to withdraw, under the threat, that otherwise he would make an attack upon him. So the bishop yielded, for he had not a force sufficient to resist the earl, and a second fortification was prepared by his retainers about six miles distant from the city, in which he spent some time, the troops who had assembled there making daily assaults upon Durham, and doing all they could to harass the enemy's soldiers who were garrisoned therein. But they could make no very great impression upon the Durham troops, who conducted themselves with very great courage, for wherever they encountered them they found them either their equals in number, or their superiors.

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[1] The borough was distinct from the city.

This distracted condition of affairs between the bishop of Durham and the invader of the see continued for one whole year and four months, at the end of which time, just when human aid seemed ineffectual, and no prospect of overcoming the adversaries appeared to remain, they were terrified by the sudden exhibition of a divine miracle, which compelled them to abandon their conquests by putting them in fear of their lives, and placed before them the danger of incurring God's anger. They were in the act of adding new crimes to their old ones, by endeavouring to join a castellated building on to a church,[1] which had been erected in honour of the blessed John the evangelist, as a stronghold for their party, when all of a sudden the nephew of the invader, a knight of some considerable repute, was seized with illness, and could with difficulty be carried back to the city, where he was attacked by an evil spirit, by whom he was tormented until he died a miserable death. Another of his nephews had previously been cut off by a sudden sickness. Shortly afterwards, all the knights and barons of the entire bishopric assembled together, and laid siege to this castle, which had been erected upon the church, and having thrown fire into it, they burnt some of the besieged, and compelled the others to surrender. Many of those who had espoused the cause of the invader with more than usual earnestness, were overtaken with some unexpected misfortune or other, and were cut off suddenly; and of the whole number of those persons who had violated the church of St. Cuthbert, there was scarce one who escaped without speedily paying the due penalty for having infringed the privileges of the saint; for upon this occasion the church had been violated.

When the nobility of the whole bishopric, accompanied by the bishop himself, drew close to Durham as we have stated, intending, as their next step, to make a fortification by which to besiege the city, they noticed that there was a church built upon the rising ground which commands the valley by which the whole city is surrounded. Apprehensive that possibly soldiers might have privately gained an entrance into this church (for the monks espoused the cause of their bishop), William Cumin in the first instance sent other monks to summon it to admit his own troops within its walls. But the monks considered it intolerable to hand over the care of their church to men who were in a state of excommunication, and therefore they themselves took possession of the fabric, and having barred its doors, they prevented these excommunicated persons from obtaining an entrance, whilst they prostrated themselves in prayer. Their ears were soon attacked with the noise of the assailants battering at the doors. Others placed ladders to the windows, and having broken out the glass, they came in and opened the doors to their companions. The invader now consigned the charge of the building to two of his soldiers, whilst the monks shut themselves up within their own offices; for the presence of these excommunicated persons hindered them from venturing either to chant the psalms or to pray within the church. The aspect of affairs was most miserable, yea most lamentable: this renowned church was now reduced to the desolation of a wilderness, there remained no place for the monks in which even to pray; it might well be likened to the destruction of that place of which it was said in the Scriptures, "Now Jerusalem shall not be inhabited, but shall lay void as a wilderness, and none of her children shall come in or go out."[1]

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[1] At Merrington, see p. 728.

This desolation continued for a whole year and seven weeks; but the invader being at length terrified by the unhappy results of his efforts, began rather to seek the opportunity of escaping from the altar of the Lord, than endeavouring to make satisfaction to the church which he had thus endamaged. So, when the archbishop of York came into that province, he lost no time in welcoming him; and he surrendered the castle into the custody of one of the barons, Roger de Conyers, to be held in trust for St. Cuthbert, receiving in return for himself and his followers that fortress which (as we have already stated) this same Roger had constructed.

Thus it was that the bishop was received into his own see, and the church was restored to her primitive condition, in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and forty-four, in the second year of the consecration of this the second bishop William. After this he lived nine years in the bishopric, in which he suffered much adversity, partly occasioned by the unjust exactions of the king of Scotland, partly in consequence of the frequent, nay, rather the constant, pillagings which he endured at the hands of his neighbours. In his time the monks' dormitory was finished. Having lived nine years, four months and five days in the see, he died upon the ides of December [13th Dec.],[2] as a man matured in years as well as in wisdom, worthy of all praise for his religion and his prudence; one who ought to be accepted as a pattern to those who succeed him; exercised from his youth up in the things of God, and admirably adapted to discharge the duties of the episcopate. He was venerable for his grey hairs, but much more so from the sobriety of his life and the grave serenity of his conversation.

Of the Election and Consecration of Bishop Hugh.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and fifty-four, being the eighteenth year of king Stephen,[3] the ninth of the papacy of Eugenius, seven hundred and three from the arrival of the Saxons in England, in the first indiction, the twenty-third epoch, the third of the concurrents, the fifth of the regulars, the fourteenth of the fifth decennial cycle, the seventy-ninth[4] day after the death of bishop William, upon the second of the kalends of February [31st Jan.],[1] Hugh, treasurer of the church of York, and archdeacon,[2] was chosen bishop in the chapter-house of Durham, in which were assembled all the religious personages of the entire diocese. Having been presented to king Stephen, he was accepted by him; for the right of election had been conceded to the chapter; but his ordination was delayed for some time in consequence of the jealousy of Henry,[3] who was at that time archbishop of York, who not only withheld his consent to the election, but went so far as to pronounce (very unadvisedly) a sentence of cursing upon the prior and the archdeacon. But as this was done with precipitancy and contrary to reason, it was ineffectual: for the prior and the archdeacon proceeded to the pope of the day, by name Anastasius,[4] and by him they were honourably received, and the election was confirmed, and the bishop, having been ordained by the lord pope himself, they all returned home rejoicing.

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[1] See 1 Maccab. iii. 45. Vulg.

[2] Other authorities state that he died 14th Nov. 1152. See Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 283, and p. 730 of this present volume.

[3] Many of these concurrent dates are erroneous.

[4] This date, if correct, agrees with that which fixes his death upon 14th November, 1152.

Having thus obtained possession of his diocese, he built, at the king's command, a castle upon the bank of the river Tweed, as a protection for himself and his people against the irruptions of the Scots, the earlier fortress, which had been erected there by Ralph, the late bishop of Durham, having been destroyed by the Scottish army. Many were the buildings which the diocese owed to him; and in the city he removed the old episcopal residence, and substituted new and elegant buildings. He contributed many ornaments to the church in which the body of the most blessed Cuthbert reposes, and appended to it a piece of most beautiful workmanship,[5] adding thereby not only to its extent, but also to its elegance. He caused marble to be imported from a great distance for the decoration of the entire edifice; and round the altar he placed several glazed windows remarkable for the beauty of the figures which they contained. In addition to these, he erected a shrine of exceeding beauty, wrought with admirable workmanship, manufactured out of the purest gold and silver, and adorned with precious stones, in which he placed the bones of that venerable man the presbyter Beda, monk of Jarrow, and many others of the relics of the saints.

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[1] A.D. 1153.

[2] He was archdeacon of Winchester. See Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 24.

[3] Here there is some difficulty as to the name of the archbishop of York. See p. 726, note [3].

[4] Anastasius IV. died at Rome, 3d Dec. 1154. Jaffé, Regist. p. 658.

[5] The chapel called the Galilee.

SIMEON'S
CHRONICLES OF THE ANGLES.

SIMEON'S

CHRONICLES OF THE ANGLES.

THE Chronicles of the Angles trace the lineage of the pedigree of their kings from Ethelwolf back to Adam, just as we know Luke the evangelist did in the case of our Lord Jesus. And if I should do the like, it probably will not be considered an unnecessary process, though I am apprehensive that the uncouth sounds of some of those barbaric names should shock the ears of those persons who hear them for the first time. Ethelwolf was the son of Egbirht, Egbirht was the son of Elmund, Elmund was the son of Eafa, Eafa was the son of Eoppa, Eoppa was the son of Ingild who was the brother of king Ina, and both of these were the sons of Kenred; Kenred was the son of Celwald, Celwald was the son of Cuda, Cuda was the son of Cudwin, Cudwin was the son of Ceaulin, Ceaulin was the son of Cinric, Cinric was the son of Cerdic, who was the first king of the West Saxons, Cerdic was the son of Elesi, Elesi was the son of Esli, Esli was the son of Gewi, Gewi was the son of Wig, Wig was the son of Frewin, Frewin was the son of Fridegar, Fridegar was the son of Brond, Brond was the son of Beldeg, Beldeg was the son of Woden. From him, as we have frequently stated, proceeded the kings of many nations. Woden was the son of Fridewold, Fridewold was the son of Frealaf, Frealaf was the son of Finn, Finn was the son of Godwulf, Godwulf was the son of Get, Get was the son of Tecti, Tecti was the son of Beowi, Beowi was the son of Sceld, Sceld was the son of Sceaf, Sceaf (as is reported) was driven when a youth upon a certain island of Germany called Scandza, which is mentioned by Jordanes,[1] the historian of the Goths; he arrived sleeping in a ship, but with no rowers, and a sheaf of corn was placed at his head; hence his name Sceaf. The natives of the district received him as if he had been miraculously sent to them, and trained him up carefully; and when he came to manhood he reigned in the town then called Slaswic, but now Haitheby. The country is called Old Anglen, and from it the Angles came into Britain; and it is situated between the Saxons and the Goths. Sceaf was the son of Heremod, Heremod was the son of Stremon, Stremon was the son of Hadra, Hadra was the son of Guala, Guala was the son of Bedweg, Bedweg was the son of Stref. He, as is reported, was the son of Noah, and was born in the ark.

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[1] An error for Jornandes.

A.D. 857. The two sons of Ethelwolf partitioned their father's kingdom between them; and Ethelbald reigned in Wessex, and Ethelbirht in Kent. Ethelbald was a coward and a traitor to his father, whose bed he polluted, having taken to wife his step-mother Judith, upon his father's decease. But five years afterwards he died, and was buried at Shirburn, and so the whole nation devolved upon his brother. During his time a band of pirates were driven to Southampton, and pillaged the populous city of Winchester.

A.D. 547. Ida[1] began to reign, from whom the royal family of the Northumbrians derives its origin. Ida's father was Eoppa, Eoppa's father was Esa, the father of Esa was Ingui, the father of Ingui was Angenwi, the father of Angenwi was Aloth, the father of Aloth was Benoc, the father of Benoc was Brond, the father of Brond was Beldeg, the father of Beldeg was Woden, the father of Woden was Fretholaf, the father of Fretholaf was Freothwulf, the father of Freothwulf was Finn, the father of Finn was Godewulf, the father of Godewulf was Beoda.

Ida had twelve sons; six begotten in lawful marriage, six by concubines. Adda, Ethelric, Edric, Tendhi, Osmer, Theodoric; these were the queen's sons. Ocga, Alric, Ecca, Osbald, Scor, Sceotheri; these were the sons of concubines.

Ida reigned twelve years.

Adda, the son of Ida, reigned three years.

Ethelric, the son of Ida, reigned seven years.

Theodric, the son of Ida, reigned seven years.

Ethelfrith, the son of Ethelric, the son of Ida, reigned twenty-four years.

Athefrith had seven sons; Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswin, Oslac, Osmudu [Osuudu], Oslaf, Offa.

After Ethelfrid, Edwin reigned seventeen years; Edwin was the son of Ella, and this Ella was not of the family of Ida. This Ella is he to whose name St. Gregory alludes, when he said, "He is well called Ella; for there Alleluia ought to be chanted to the praise of God." When Edwin was slain, the kingdom of the Northumbrians was divided. Osric, who was the son of Edwin's uncle by the father's side, Elfric by name, held the province of the Deiri for one year.

Eanfrid, the son of Ethefrid, the grandson of Ida, held the province of the Bernicians for one year.

Oswald, the son of Ethelfrid, reigned nine years.

Oswin, the son of Ethelfrid, reigned twenty-eight years. At the beginning this Oswin had Oswiu (he was of the family of king Edwin, that is, the son of Osric already mentioned, as his associate in the kingdom. Oswin ruled over the province of the Deiri for seven years. After Oswin reigned his son Egfrid, who appointed the blessed Cuthbert bishop. He reigned fifteen years.

Alfrid, the brother of Egfrid, reigned nineteen years.

Osred, the son of Alfrid, reigned eleven years. Coenred, his kinsman, reigned two years.

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[1] Compare the Saxon Chronicle, A D. 547.

Osric, the son of Aldfrid, reigned eleven years.

Ceolwulf reigned eight years. This Ceolwulf was the son of Cuthwine. Cuthwine was the son of Leodwald, Leodwald was the son of Egwald, Egwald was the son of Aldhelm, Aldhelm was the son of Ocga, Ocga was the son of king Ida. This Ceolwulf resigned his kingdom, and became a monk in Lindisfarne.

After Ceolwulf, Eadbert, the son of the uncle of Ceolwulf, held the realm for twenty years.

Oswulf, the son of Eadbert, reigned one year.

Ethelwold Moll reigned six years.

Alcred, of the stock of Ida, reigned nine years.

Ethelred, the son of Ethelwold, reigned four years.

Elfwold, the son of Oswulf, the nephew of king Eadbert, held the kingdom for ten years, upon the expulsion of Ethelred. This Ethelwold, who was wickedly slain by his own people, rests at Hextildesham [Hexham]; but a light from heaven frequently appears in the place where he was slain.

Osred, the son of Alchred, reigned one year. After a year this Osred was treacherously dealt with, and expelled from his kingdom; and afterwards Ethelred, the son of Ethelwold, was restored from his exile, and there reigned seven years. This Ethelred put to death the sons of king Elfwold, whom he had dragged from York.

Osbald reigned twenty-seven days.

Eardulf reigned ten years.

Elfwold reigned two years.

Eanred reigned thirty-three years.

Ethelred, the son of Eanred, reigned nine years. When he was slain, Osbryht held the kingdom for thirteen years; after whose expulsion from the kingdom, they appointed one Ella over themselves as their king; but he was not of the kingly family. At this time, as the Danes were laying siege to York, the Northumbrians restored Osbriht to the kingdom; and they, together with Osbriht and Ella, engaged in battle with the Danes; but both these kings—who had deprived St. Cuthbert of his lands, namely, Werkworth, Tillemuthe, Billingaham, Ileclif, and Wigeclif—were slain.

After them Egbert reigned six years.

Ricsi reigned two years.

Egbert reigned two years.

Guthred, who became a king from having been a slave, reigned fourteen years.

Then Reingwold held the land of St. Cuthbert by Scula and Onlafbal.

Then Edward, the son of king Elfred, reigned for twenty-two years.

Ethelstane reigned for twenty years after king Eadward. He was the first whose sway extended over the whole of England.

After him his brother Eadmund reigned for nine years.

After Eadmund his brother Eadred reigned for ten years.

After Eadred, reigned Eadwi, the son of Eadmund, for one year.

After Eadwi, his brother Eadgar reigned for eighteen years.

After Eadgar, his son Edward, [who is buried] at Shaftsbury, reigned for five years.

After Edward, his brother Ethelred reigned thirty-nine years.

After Ethelred, his brother Edmund Ironside reigned nine months.

After him, Cnut reigned nineteen years.

After Cnut, Harald his son reigned five years.

After him, Hardecnut reigned three years.

After him, Eadward reigned twenty-four years.

After him, Harald reigned from the Lord's Epiphany to the festival of St. Calixtus.

William the elder reigned twenty-one years.

William the younger reigned thirteen years.

Henry died in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He reigned gloriously thirty-five years and four months.

SIMEON'S ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF DURHAM.

SIMEON'S ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF DURHAM.

ABOUT THE VALIANT EXPLOITS OF EARL UCTHRED, AND OF THE EARLS WHO SUCCEEDED HIM.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and sixty-nine, during the reign of Ethelred, king of the English, Malcolm, king of the Scots, the son of king Kyned, collected together the entire military force of Scotland; and having devastated the province of the Northumbrians with the sword and fire, he laid siege to Durham. At this time bishop Aldun had the government there; for Waltheof, who was the earl of the Northumbrians, had shut himself up in Bebbanburc [Bamborough]. He was exceedingly aged, and in consequence could not undertake any active measures against the enemy. Bishop Aldun had given his daughter, named Ecgfrida, in marriage to Cospatric's son, named Ucthred, a youth of great energy, and well skilled in military affairs; and along with her the bishop had given him these vills—part of the lands of St. Cuthbert, namely, Bermetun, Skirningheim, Eltun, Carltun, Heaclif, and Heseldene, upon these terms, namely, that so long as he lived, he would treat his wife with honour.

Now, when this young man perceived that the land was devastated by the enemy, and that Durham was in a state of blockade and siege, he collected together into one body a considerable number of the men of Northumbria and Yorkshire, and cut to pieces nearly the entire multitude of the Scots; the king himself, and a few others, escaping with difficulty. He caused to be carried to Durham the best-looking heads of the slain, ornamented (as the fashion of the time was) with braided locks, and after they had been washed by four women,—to each of whom he gave a cow for her trouble,—he caused these heads to be fixed upon stakes, and placed round about the walls.

When king Ethelred heard of this, he summoned this young man to his presence (this was during the lifetime of his father Waltheof,) and as a reward for his courage, and for the battle which he had fought so gallantly, he gave him the earldom which had been his father's, adding thereto the earldom of the men of York. Upon his return home, however, Ucthred sent away the daughter of bishop Aldun; and because in so doing he had acted contrary to his promise and oath, the father of the young woman (I mean, the bishop) took back to the church the lands which he had given Ucthred, along with his daughter. Having thus put away the bishop's daughter, as we have mentioned, Ucthred took to wife the daughter of a rich citizen, named Styr, the son of Ulf, (her name

[1] From Twysden's edition, col. 79.

was Sigen); and her father gave her to him upon the understanding that he would put to death Turbrand, who was most hostile towards himself (Styr). Afterwards, when Ucthred had made additional progress in military affairs, king Ethelred gave him his own daughter Elfgiva in marriage; by whom he had Algitha, whom her father wedded to Maldred, the son of Crinan the thane; by whom Maldred became the father of Cospatric, who begat Dolphin, and Waltheof, and Cospatric. The daughter of bishop Aldun, whom earl Ucthred had sent away, became the wife of a certain thane in Yorkshire, namely, Kilvert, the son of Ligulf; their daughter, Sigrida, became the wife of Arkil, the son of Ecgfrid, and she bore him a son named Cospatric. This Cospatric took to wife the daughter of Dolfin, the son of Torfin, by whom he begot Cospatric, who of late ought to have fought with Waltheof, the son of Eilaf. Kilvert, the son of Ligulf, sent away the daughter of bishop Aldun, (I mean, Ecgfrida,) whereupon her father commanded her to return forthwith to Durham; and when she obeyed his commands, she brought back with her Bermetun, and Skirningheim, and Eltun, which she had retained in her own possession; and thus she restored to the church and the bishop the lands which properly belonged to them. After this she took the veil, which she kept faithfully until the day of her death: she lies buried in the churchyard of Durham, awaiting the day of judgment.

In order to detail the death of earl Ucthred, our narrative must revert a little. Suein, the king of the Danes, having driven Ethelred, the king of the English, into Normandy, took possession of his realm; but upon his death, which occurred no long time afterwards, king Ethelred returned to his own kingdom, having taken to wife Emma, the daughter of Richard, the duke of the Normans. Only a very short time had elapsed, when Cnut, the son of Suein, the king of the Danes, whom we have already mentioned, came to England, accompanied by a countless multitude, meaning to reign over it. He sent a message to Ucthred, asking him to join him, along with all the men whom he could muster, to render him assistance against king Ethelred; promising him that, in the event of his compliance, not only should he retain possession of the honour which he then held, but that something yet more extensive should be added. This earl was a man of considerable influence, for he had under him the counties of Northumberland and York. Ucthred, however, answered that he would do nothing of the sort, and declared that it would be the depth of baseness were he to act thus against his lord and father-in-law. "Nothing would induce me," said he, "to take such a step: nor, indeed, ought I to do so. So long as king Ethelred lives, I will be faithful to him; for he is my lord and my wife's father, and the abundant honours and riches which are mine, I possess by his gift. I will never be a traitor to him." Thus Cnut had no assistance from Ucthred.

But upon the death of Ethelred, when Cnut became possessed of the whole realm of England, he sent a message to the earl, commanding that he would come to him as his lord. Having received a safe-conduct for his journey there and home again, the earl went.

Upon the day appointed, as he was going to the king to treat of peace, certain of the king's armed soldiers, who were hidden within the traverse of the house at Wiheal, behind a curtain which was there suspended, suddenly rushed out and killed the earl, and forty of the chiefest of his men, who had entered along with him. This was planned by the treachery of a certain powerful man, Turebrant, surnamed Hold.

Upon his death, his brother Eadulf, surnamed Cudel, a lazy and cowardly fellow, succeeded him in the earldom. Apprehensive that the Scots would revenge upon himself the slaughter which his brother had inflicted upon them, as has been already mentioned, he yielded up to them the whole of Lothian, to soothe them and procure a peace; and hence it is that Lothian became added to the kingdom of Scotland. But Eadulf having died shortly after this, Aldred—whom the aforesaid Ucthred had begotten by Ecfrid, the daughter of bishop Aldun, of whom we have already made mention, —became possessed of the earldom of Northumberland only, and put to death Turebrant, who had murdered his father. Carl, the son of this Turebrant, and earl Aldred were engaged in a mutual enmity, and were constantly laying traps the one for the other; but at last, by the agency of their friends, they were brought to an agreement; by whose instrumentality also they made satisfaction to each other. So firmly knit, indeed, was their friendship, that, like sworn brethren, they meant to visit Rome together; but a long-continued tempest of the sea hindered them, and they were constrained to abandon their plan, and return homewards. Carl received the earl into his house with great pomp and due respect; but, after having provided an entertainment for him, and when he was entirely thrown off his guard, he conducted him, as if out of compliment, into the wood called Risewude, and there he slew him, when he suspected no harm. A little cross of stone marks, even to this day, the spot at which he was murdered. Earl Waltheof, the grandson of earl Aldred,—for he was the son of his daughter,—some time afterwards avenged the death of his grandfather with a mighty slaughter; for which purpose he had collected a large assembly of young men. For when the sons of Carl were feasting together in the house of their elder brother, at Seteringeton, not far from York, the party which had been despatched there for that purpose fell upon them unawares, and put the whole of them to death, with the sole exception of Cnut, whose life was spared from regard to his innate excellence of disposition. Sumerlede, who is alive at this present day, happened not to be there. Having massacred the sons and grandsons of Carl, they returned, carrying with them many and diverse spoils. But we must now return to the point from which we digressed.

Earl Aldred was the father of five daughters, three of whom bore the same name, Aelfleda; the fourth was called Aldgitha, and the fifth Etheldritha. One of these Aelfledas married earl Siward, by whom she became the mother of Waltheof; and as this Aelfleda was countess,—being the daughter of earl Aldred, and he the son of earl Ucthred and the daughter of bishop Aldun,—she laid claim to these lands following, as belonging to her by hereditary right; namely, Bernetun, Kyrningeim, Eltun, Carltun, Heaclif, and Heseldene, which earl Siward her husband had given her; and she gave to her son Waltheof the earldom of Northumberland, as it had been held by Waltheof's grandfather, earl Aldred.

Upon the death of earl Siward and the countess Alfleda, the daughter of earl Aldred, a war broke out, in consequence of which that land was devastated. After a long time, that Arkil, the son of Ecgfrid, already mentioned, (who had taken to wife Sigrida, the daughter of Kilvert and of Ecgfrida, the daughter of bishop Aldun,) possessed himself of these lands, which had been thus devastated, and they settled upon them. Upon the death of his wife Sigrida, he gave not only Heseldene to St. Cuthbert, but also Heaclif and Carltun, which are still in the possession of the church. Arkil the son of Fridegist, and earl Eadulf, and Arkil the son of Ecgfrith, these three had Sigrida [to wife]. Afterwards, when king William came into England, this Arkil took to flight, and became a banished man; and thus for the second time this land continued devastated. After these occurrences, a certain thane of Yorkshire, called Orm, the son of Gamel, took to wife Etheldritha, one of the five daughters of earl Aldred; and she bare to him a daughter named Ecgfrida, who, by Eilsi of Tees, became the mother of Waltheof, and his two brothers, and Eda their sister. And as that Ecgfrida was descended from earl Aldred and the daughter of bishop Aldun, she—that is, Ecgfrida—and her husband Eilsi, took possession of Bermetun and Skirningheim by hereditary right.

THE LETTER OF SIMEON CONCERNING THE ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK.

THE LETTER OF SIMEON,

A MONK OF THE CHURCH OF ST. CUTHBERT OF DURHAM,

To HUGH *the* DEAN *of* YORK, *concerning the* ARCHBISHOPS *of* YORK.[1]

I, SIMEON, a poor servant of the servants of St. Cuthbert, transmit to you, my most dearly beloved father and lord, Hugh, the dean of the church of St. Peter at York, a few brief annotations, which I have gathered here and there from early writings, to the best of my ability, concerning the succession of the pontiffs of the church of York. Would that my power to obey your commands herein were equal to my inclination! It will delight you to learn, that, as we read, the church of the Northumbrians possessed at one and the same time these illustrious personages,—Wilfrid, (who lived seventy years, during forty-five of which he was a bishop,) Ceadda, Bosa, Eata, Cuthbert, and John, pontiffs celebrated for their holiness. Besides these, there was also the blessed Benedict, a contemporary of theirs, who built the monasteries of SS. Peter and Paul, in Wearmouth and Jarrow; who, moreover, was the abbot who reared the venerable doctor Beda from his infancy. The abbess Hild also flourished at this time. It is expedient, however, that our information respecting our Beda should be given somewhat in detail.[2] * * * * He died in the year of our Lord's incarnation seven hundred and thirty-five, which was the seventh year of the reign of king Ceolwulf, to whom he had shortly before addressed his History of the English Nation. He was buried in the place in which he had lived with such renown, that is to say, at Jarrow; but his bones were afterwards translated to the body of St. Cuthbert.

A.D. 627. Upon the preaching of Paulinus, king Eadwin was baptized. This Paulinus preached the word of God in the province of Northumbria for six successive years; but in the year six hundred and thirty-three, upon the death of that king, he returned to Kent, whence he had come at the first. He was the first bishop of York; and when he was ordained by archbishop Justus, he received the pall from pope Honorius. Upon the departure of Paulinus, the church of York had no bishop of its own for thirty years; but the episcopal functions of the province were administered by the bishops of the church of Lindisfarne; namely, Aidan, Finan, Colman, and Tuda. In the third year of the episcopate of Colman (being the thirtieth year since bishops had arrived in England from Scotland), upon the completion of the struggle respecting the observance of Easter, Wilfrid was sent into Gaul by king Aldfrid to be ordained bishop. He was at that time about thirty years of age. Whilst he was still abroad, Ceadda, a holy man, was consecrated to the bishopric of the see of York by the command of king Oswin; and for three years he nobly governed this church. Afterwards he withdrew to his own monastery at Lestingaeu; whereupon the ecclesiastical government of the entire province of the Northumbrians devolved upon Wilfrid. In the meantime, king Oswin died, and his son Ecgfrid succeeded him in the kingdom. He married Ermenburga, having previously had to wife—in name at least—the blessed Etheldrida. The evil enemy, the devil, had made an abode for himself in the heart of Ermenburga, using her as an instrument for stirring up hatred and ill-will against the blessed Wilfrid; and by the tongue of this woman he inflamed the king's temper so far as that he expelled the bishop. But since the king was unable to drive him out without the consent of archbishop Theodore, he sent a mandate to that archbishop directing him to come to him. After the pretended accusations of his assailants had been heard, Wilfrid was expelled from his see, in the year of our Lord's incarnation six hundred and seventy-eight, being the twelfth year of his episcopate; after which he was in exile for ten years. But in the second year of the reign of Alfrid, who succeeded to the throne after his brother Ecgfrid, Wilfrid recovered his see and his episcopate. Five years afterwards, he was once more accused by the same king and many of the bishops, and was expelled from his episcopal office. In the thirteenth year of this second expulsion, he recovered the bishopric of the church of Hexham, the blessed John having been removed to York, in the stead of Bosa, who had then recently died. The blessed Wilfrid survived this event five years, forty-five years of his life having been spent as a bishop.

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[1] From Twysden's edition, col. 75.

[2] Here, in the original, is inserted a biographical notice of the venerable Beda; but as it adds nothing to our information, we have omitted it.

After him, the venerable priest Acca received charge of the episcopate of the church of Hexham. But the blessed John, finding that his increasing old age prevented him from discharging the duties of his bishopric, ordained his own priest, Wilfrid, to the bishopric of the church of York, while he himself retired to a monastery situated in the wood of the Deiri; and there he ended his life in peace, having continued a bishop for thirty-three years. Wilfrid spent fifteen years in the bishopric, and was succeeded by Ecgbert, a man of royal descent, noble and energetic. He was the first after Paulinus who received the pall from the apostolic pope; this was in the seventh year of king Ceolwulf, and the hundred and third year after the departure of Paulinus, namely, in the year seven hundred and thirty-five; in which year also the venerable Beda died at Jarrow.

Archbishop Ecgbert, having died in the thirty-second year after he had received the episcopate, was succeeded by Albert; who, after he had held the episcopate for seven years, received the pall from pope Adrian: this was in the seventh year of king Alcred. This Albert died in the fourteenth year of his episcopate; and in his stead Eanbald was ordained, in the year of our Lord's incarnation seven hundred and eighty, during the reign of Aelfwald. In the year of our Lord's incarnation seven hundred and ninety-six, Eanbald died, in the seventeenth year of his archiepiscopate, leaving as his successor a second Eanbald, who had been a presbyter of that same church: at this time king Osred was reigning. After Eanbald, Wulsi ruled the archbishopric, during the reign of Eanred. Wulsi, on his death, was succeeded by Wimund, during the reign of the same king. Wimund died in the sixteenth year of his episcopate: his successor in the archbishopric was Wulfhere.

At this time a countless army of the barbarians—namely, Inguar, and Ubba, and Haldana, with a large force of Danes and Norsemen,—came in their ships into England, and devastated all before them with fire and sword. Advancing upon York, they besieged the city, and ravaged the entire circumjacent country. Shortly before their arrival, the Northumbrians had expelled their king, and had placed in his stead one Ella, not, however, of the royal family. Necessity, however, compelled them to recal the man whom they had driven out; whereupon both he and the person who had been substituted for him joined their forces together, along with the whole of the inhabitants of Northumbria, and encountered the enemy at York, inflicting great slaughter upon them. The pagans placed Ecgbert over the survivors as their king; who, however, was under allegiance to themselves; and both parties were reconciled to each other.

While these bloody struggles were going on, bishop Wulfer kept aloof, residing at Addingeham, a valley in the western part of Yorkshire, which is called Hwerverdale, upon the bank of the river Hwerf, between Otley and the castle of Sciptun. At this time the holy martyr Eadmund suffered. Seven years afterwards, the Northumbrians conspired together, and expelled from their country their king, Ecgbert, with bishop Wulfere, and appointed one Richsig over the kingdom. One year subsequently, upon the death of king Ecgbert, the bishop returned to his see and his church. He died forty-seven years after he had become a bishop, and was succeeded by Ethelbald, in the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred. Four years after he had accepted the bishopric, Ethelbald received the pall, during the reign of Eadward, the son of king Elfrid. On the death of Ethelbald, Lotheward succeeded; after whom the church was governed by Wulstan, during the reign of Ealdred, the brother of king Ethelstan: he died in the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and fifty-five. He was followed by Oschitell, who ruled the church for sixteen years, and was succeeded by Edwald, during the reign of Eadgar, the son of king Eadmund. He died in the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and seventy. But when it happened that Edwald preferred a quieter course of life, Oswald undertook the charge of the church, in the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and seventy-one; and going next year to Rome, he received the pall from pope Benedict.

After Oswald, the following individuals ruled in succession:—

Aldulf.
Wulstan.
Elfric.
Kinsi.
Aldred.
Thomas.
Girard.
Thomas.
Turstin.
William.
Henry.
Roger.

CHARTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE HISTORIES OF SIMEON OF DURHAM.

ILLUSTRATION [A].

The Charter of Waltheof,[1] *Earl of Northumberland, concerning the Church of Tynemouth.*

✠ In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

I, Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, in the presence of the lord Walcher, the bishop, and of the whole holy synod of the bishopric of Durham, having been frequently incited by the exhortations of the said bishop, and inflamed by the zeal of the Christian faith, do give, grant, and by my present charter confirm, to Aldwin the prior, and the brethren who are to be associated with himself in God's service at Jarrow, and who, as well for the present as the future, are about to profess a regular life in that place, and who also under the protection of God and the blessed Cuthbert are about to be summoned from every locality, in pure and perpetual alms, the church of St. Mary at Tynemouth, together with the body of St. Oswin, the king and martyr, who reposes in the same church, along with all the places and lands, and other matters whatsoever, which of right belong to it, free and quit, for ever. And along with the alms aforesaid, I offer this youth, by name Morcar, that he may be instructed in God's service, according to the monastic discipline. And since that place at this time appears to religious men to be exceedingly rough and uncultivated, as well the lord bishop Walcher as we, and the other good men of this bishopric, have determined to prepare for them (by God's permission) a more fitting place of abode near the holy body of the blessed Cuthbert; wherefore I give and grant, and by this present writing, [signed] with the sign of the holy ✠ cross, I confirm to God and to St. Cuthbert the glorious confessor, whom the brethren aforesaid are about to serve, in the name of the Holy Trinity, this church aforesaid, with whatever heretofore has been given to God, and St. Mary, and St. Oswin, or shall be given hereafter.

But if any one shall hereafter presume to take away, withdraw, or in any manner diminish, this church or any of its appurtenances, from God and St. Cuthbert, or the brethren aforesaid, who are at this time resident at Jarrow, but who are hereafter to be received into the church of the confessor aforesaid, as we have arranged, that person shall be condemned by a perpetual anathema under the authority of the lord bishop Walcher, and the whole synod of this church of Durham, and mine, and that of all Christians ✠, and shall be for ever punished with the devil and his angels in the eternal fires. Amen, Amen, Amen.

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[1] Referred to at p. 564. The original of this charter is preserved in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham (i. 1. Pontif.), and is printed in the Appendix to the Three Durham Historians, p. xviii.

I, Walcher, bish✠op of Durham, confirm this gift by the sign of the holy cross.
The sign of Waltheo✠f, earl of Northumberland.
The sign of earl ✠ Aldred.
The sign of ✠ Uthred, the brother of Morekar.
The sign of Liulf, ✠ the father of Morekar.
The sign ✠ of Leobwin, the dean of Durham.
The sign of Gile✠bert, the bishop's nephew.
The sign of Hemming, ✠ preost.
The sign of Ulkil, ✠ preost.
The sign of Meruin, ✠ preost.
The sign of E✠lstan, preost.
The sign of Ernan, Bis✠copes sune.
The sign of Swartebrant, ✠ preost.
The sign of Gamel, preost. ✠
The sign of ✠ Uthred, preost.
The sign of Aldwin, knight. ✠
The sign of Wulstan, knight. ✠
The sign of Walter. ✠
The sign of ✠ Godred.
The sign of Aelfred. ✠
The sign of Godmana, preost.
The sign of Kinewulf, ✠ knight.

The Confirmation[1] *by William the First, the Bishop of Durham, of Tynemouth, made to the Monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth, who were translated to Durham.*

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

I, William, by the grace of God bishop of Durham, in the presence of the holy synod, do grant, and by my episcopal authority and of this present writing do confirm, to Aldun the prior and his successors, and to all the monks who shall hereafter serve St. Cuthbert in this church of Durham, in perpetual alms, the church of Tynemouth, with all its appurtenances, as well in lands as in waters, or in any other matters whatsoever, which Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, formerly gave to the same monks (who previously resided at Jarrow), along with his relative, the youth Morekar. This donation bishop Walcher, our predecessor, at the request of the said earl, who was seated near him in the same synod, as that holy synod itself knows and testifies, had granted and confirmed them with his canonical authority. And this donation earl Albri, the successor of Waltheof, granted and renewed for the second time, in my presence and before many witnesses, to the same monks, who have been translated to Durham by the authority of the lord the pope. Whosoever, therefore, from this time forth, shall take away from the monks who serve St. Cuthbert, this church, or any of its appurtenances, shall be condemned, by my episcopal authority, and by that of the whole of this synod, by a perpetual anathema, and shall be reserved for punishment with the devil and his angels in perpetual fires. Amen, Amen.

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[1] The original of this document is preserved in the same depository.

And in order that this my confirmation may be firm, and in force for ever, I impress on the present writing, with my own hand, the sign of the holy cross ✠, and confirm it.

The sign of William, ✠ the bishop.
The sign of Eilav, ✠ preost of Extildesham.
The sign of Alwold, ✠ preost of Tynemouth.
The sign of Ulchil, preost ✠ of Seggesfeld.
The sign of Eilav of Bethlingtun. ✠
The sign of Meruin, preost ✠ of Chester.
The sign of Uthred, ✠ preost of Alcleat.
The sign of Aldred, preost ✠ of Aclea.
The sign of Gille, ✠ clerk of Eggasclif.
The sign of Hemming, ✠ preost of Brentespethe.

This writing of confirmation was executed in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and eighty-five, on the fifth of the kalends of May, being the second day of the week.[1]

ILLUSTRATION [B].

Which of the Brethren it was who disentombed the Body of St. Cuthbert, and touched it; and how the Relics which were deposited along with him bare witness to his Sanctity.[2]

For the benefit of those who wish to know of the blessedness of St. Cuthbert, we will explain in a few words what we have been able to learn from the elders of the church. These, without doubt, had seen and heard the men who had touched with their hands the incorruptible body of St. Cuthbert, had explored it with their steadfast eyes, had lifted it up and sustained it with their clasping arms, and they had learnt every secret concerning him. These were the men: Turgot the prior, Alduin the sub-prior, Leofwin, Wiking, Godwin, and Osbern the sacrists, Henry and William, surnamed Havegrim, both of them archdeacons, Algar afterwards prior, and Symeon. Osbern, in the direction of the head of St. Cuthbert, taking hold of the holy body, raised it aloft from the place of its repose; Alduin, standing at the other extremity, elevated the sacred feet; and Algar, when the body was bending to the ground in its middle, after the manner of a living man, seized it, and supported it in his arms. He also assisted the abbot of Seez[1] in unfolding the vestments which enveloped the venerable head of the saint. As soon as the holy body was laid upon tapestry and other robes, Symeon, who held the wax candle and the candlestick, ceased not to kiss the sacred feet of the body, and moisten them with his tears. These men related to their hearers the mighty deeds of God, and made them better acquainted with certain matters which before were secret, and yet they were unwilling to commit the whole to writing. We, however, have thought proper to record those things, being delighted to know more perfectly the matters which we have not seen, and to make known to posterity the things which, as we are aware, will to some be matter of doubt.

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[1] Here is an error; for the 5th of the kalends of May (27th April) in A.D. 1085, fell upon the first Sunday after Easter.

[2] Referred to at p. 585. Translated by the Rev. James Raine, in his History of St. Cuthbert, p. 85, (4to. Durham, 1828,) from the text of Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Miraculis, p. 84. 8vo. Durham, 1835.

When once the sacred body was elevated from the place of its repose, the coffin, in which he had hitherto rested, reclining upon his right side like one asleep, emitted a fragrant smell of sweetness, which filled the air. Even the coffin itself, in which that most sacred body reposed, appeared as fresh as if newly made, and was thoroughly dry. The pillow, made of cloth of costly silk, which had been placed under the body, as far as it had been occupied by it, shone with all the brightness of recent texture. But that part of the pillow or cloth of silk which had been occupied by the relics of the other saints which had been placed by its side, was the whole of it devoured by moths, and reduced to dust and ashes. And yet not one of the dried bones of any other saint, however closely and compactly it was found adhering to the side of his incorrupt body, had, from its dust or decay, imparted any injury, ashes, or moisture to his more sacred robes. But where those relics of saints had rested, that part of the coffin consigned to them had become black beneath a coagulated mass of decaying dust, and from its long contact with the ashes, had suffered injury, although it still remained entire. Moreover the ashes, which naturally caused a still further decay, produced the filth of an earthy dust, and so, when the moth of corruption had dissolved those bones by a natural decay, the dusty particles themselves, possessing a portion of heat, had caused somewhat of moisture below. Whence it arose, that that part of the chest in which any portion of those holy relics had rested, was filthy, earthy, and somewhat damp. Wherefore they freed the coffin of St. Cuthbert from these defilements, by collecting together the dust and ashes; and gathering together the sacred remains themselves, they placed them in certain wooden receptacles, hewn out for the purpose. These are honourably preserved elsewhere in the church, in a larger repository expressly made for them; and along with them are preserved some of the wrappers in which these relics had been enveloped, still only half decayed. But because they were not able entirely to scrape off from the part affected, nor to eradicate the discolouring caused by the ashes, and the stain proceeding from the moisture, which had sunk deeply down, they had recourse to an artifice for remedying the defect. Their first wish was, if possible, to make the distained part resemble the other perfect parts of the coffin; but this could only be effected by time, and consequently they feared to commence the operation. They therefore, by a device of their own, made a tablet of wood, of such a size as exactly to correspond with the bottom of the coffin internally in length and breadth; this they dried before the fire from the morning till the evening, and they afterwards besmeared, and, as far as they could, saturated it with melted wax. Their next step was to affix to it, on its lower side, four feet, one at each corner, of such a length as, when the thickness of the plank and the length of the feet were taken together, constituted the depth of three fingers only, and by placing this false bottom within the coffin, every part of the real bottom, which had been injured by the ashes of the holy relics, was concealed from view. In fact, it had so closely attached itself to the lower bottom of the coffin, that to those who saw it, it appeared to be a new real bottom, lately made smooth by the plane. Its wooden feet beneath supported it upon the old bottom, and effectually concealed all its defects. Upon the upper part of the tablet they placed the incorruptible body of the glorious bishop in the place of his repose, and the other relics were gathered together and put elsewhere by themselves. Whence it comes to pass, that that most holy body lays not more than half down in its coffin, because it rests not upon the real bottom of the chest, but upon the tablet.

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[1] Ralph, abbot of Seez, in Normandy, who, in A.D. 1108, became bishop of Rochester, and in 1114 was elevated to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

In what Robes that most holy Body was enveloped, or what was the handling and the arrangement of the Limbs.

And forasmuch as he who knows only in part, becomes the more anxious to know the rest, let us proceed to those matters which are still undescribed, and begin with the holy body itself.

That body, very admirable for its meritorious virtues, seems to be of a tall and manly stature, and yet this tallness is confined within proper bounds. All his limbs, however, are solid, flexible, and whole, and as become a perfect man, folding with nerves, moveable with veins full of blood. Sweet in the softness of flesh, such as give the appearance of one living in the flesh, rather than dead in the body. His body is everywhere enveloped with a very thinly-woven sheet of linen, and between this and the body there is no other interior wrapment. This is the winding-sheet which the abbess Verca[1] gave him during his life-time, and which he always preserved for this very purpose. Next to this he is clothed in a priestly alb, and there appears to be an amice on his neck or shoulders. His cheeks and face, and all the surface of the whole of his venerable head, are closely covered by a cloth, which is attached to all the parts beneath it with such a degree of anxious care, that it is, as it were, glued to his hair, skin, temples, and beard. This cloth could in no one part, by the art of any one, be ever so little elevated, torn asunder, or raised from beneath, either from his skin or flesh. Not even by the very sharpest extremity of the nails, was it in any place able to be drawn or pinched up, or in any perceptible degree to be pulled asunder. Through this his nostrils and eyelids were sufficiently clear and visible; but yet the skin below, or the more tender flesh beneath, was not able to be seen distinctly. So also, as far as the joints of his neck, all the functionary parts of the head, and the organs of the senses of man, were in the same manner covered; nor was there, after every attempt, any apparent means by which they could be distinctly viewed. His nose, at its junction with his forehead, seemed to be somewhat turning rapidly outwards; and his chin appeared, to those who saw it, as if the lower bone was furrowed by a twofold division. In which furrow, so distinct on each side, the quantity of almost a transverse finger might be laid, because its highest tip was so indented. Above all these, there is a purple face-cloth, which conceals and covers beneath it the whole of the mitre upon his head. It does not easily appear of what kind of thread this face-cloth is woven, inasmuch as there is at the present time no such manufacture. Upon the forehead of the holy bishop there is a fillet of gold, not of woven work, but of gold only externally, which sparkles with most precious stones of different kinds, scattered all over its surface. Persons devout, rather than curious, who had beheld the sacred interior of his coffin, wishing to view his naked flesh, raised aloft the face-cloth which I have mentioned, and thus between the joints of his neck and the confines of his shoulders saw the softness of his flesh, and handled it with their hands. They saw it, they touched it with their fingers and hands, and found that it was equally consistent over the whole of his body. Above the alb he was decorated with a stole and fanon, the extremities of which are for a short space visible near his feet; but yet no one can ascertain the precise nature of their texture, for their inner parts are covered by the tunic and dalmatic which are above them; but the extremities of their borders appear to be of most costly workmanship.

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[1] See Beda's Life of St. Cuthbert, § 60, p. 592.

Concerning his Episcopal Robes; and of what Value, Colour, Grace, Elegance, and of how great Beauty and wonderful Nature they are.

After the manner of Christian bishops, next to these he was clothed with a tunic and dalmatic; both of which are of great elegance, and well worthy of admiration; consisting of the costly colour of purple, ornamented in the loom. For instance, the dalmatic (which is the more visible on account of its being the upper robe of the two) appears to those who have more than ordinary experience in such matters, to be of purple, tinged with red—a colour at this period unknown. This robe still retains the grace of its original freshness and beauty, and, as it were, crackles in the fingers of those who handle it, on account of the solidity of the work and the stiffness of the thread. In it there are woven figures, as well of birds as of small animals, extremely minute in their workmanship and subdivisions. To add to its beauty, the robe is variegated by frequent dashes of another colour, which is proved to be of citron. This variety has a very beautiful effect upon the purple ground, and by its spots causes new formations of diversity.

This tint of citron-colour appears to have been sprinkled over it, as it were, in drops, and its effect is such as to compel the reddish appearance of the purple to shine with greater force and brilliancy. The extreme termination of this dalmatic is everywhere surrounded by a border of thread of gold, like embroidery, which, on account of the quantity of gold interwoven in its texture, is not easily bent, and even then with a crackling noise. . It may be rolled or folded up; but yet, on account of its close texture, unless it be held in either of those positions, it soon of itself assumes its extended state. This border is of the breadth of a hand, and its workmanship was ascertained to have been extremely ingenious. There is the same border upon the extremity of each sleeve around the wrists or arms of the glorious bishop; but around his neck there is a border broader than the former, and of more incomparable workmanship and worth, which covers the greater part of both his shoulders, as well behind as in front, on account of its being more than a hand and a half in breadth in either direction. His hands reclining upon his breast, appear to be extending their stretched-out fingers to heaven, and to be incessantly demanding the mercy of God in behalf of a people devoted to him. For he who, at the hour of his death, raised those hands aloft[1] in prayer in behalf of himself, now, since his death, hath ever kept them raised for the expiation of our crimes. And yet those who handle them may move them in any direction, may turn them inwards or outwards, with as much ease as if they belonged to a living man. In like manner his arms may be raised and lowered, and all his other limbs may be extended or bent inwards at the will of him who handles them. The chasuble, which was removed from his body eleven years after his burial, was never restored to him afterwards. Upon his feet he wears the episcopal shoes, generally denominated sandals; which in front are perforated with numerous holes, of an exceedingly small size, purposely made. But as to any softer inner garment, any monk's cowl which he may wear, no one can give any information, because no one ever presumed to touch or explore the robes which are immediately contiguous to his flesh. Moreover, with respect to his other robes of linen, or possibly of woollen, all men are in a state of doubt, because no one had permission to make the necessary investigation.

Next to the dalmatic, his holy body is clothed with other costly robes of silk, the nature and description of which are not clearly ascertained; above which there had been put around him a sheet, almost nine cubits in length, and three and a half in breadth, in which the whole mass of holy relics had been very decently swathed. This sheet had a fringe of linen-thread of a finger's length on one of its sides, and it was unquestionably a linen sheet. Upon the sides and ends of this sheet there was woven, by the ingenuity of its maker, a border of the breadth of an inch, bearing upon it a very minute and projecting workmanship, fabricated of the thread itself, and containing upon its extremity the figures of birds and beasts, so arranged that invariably between every two pairs of birds and beasts there is interwoven the representation of a branching tree, which distinguishes and divides the figures. This representation of the tree, so tastefully depicted, appears to be putting forth its leaves, although small on both sides; under which, upon the adjacent compartment, the interwoven figures of animals again appear, and this ornamental border of trees and animals is equally visible upon the extreme parts of the sheet. This sheet was removed from his holy body at the time of his translation, and, on account of the gifts which are daily given by the faithful, was long preserved entire in the church. Above this sheet there was still another cloth of a thicker substance, and in fact of a three-fold texture, which covered the whole surface of the sheet last mentioned, and all the relics beneath it; and above this, there was still a third envelope, saturated with wax, which had covered the inner coffin of the holy body externally, and all the holy relics. This cloth was proved not to have belonged to the sacred remains within, but was conjectured to have been superadded for the purpose of excluding the troublesome nuisance of dust. Now the three cloths were taken away from the body of the holy bishop, and instead of them were put upon it others much more elegant and costly, of which the first, which is placed immediately above his former robes, is of silk, thin, and of most delicate texture; the second is costly, of incomparable cloth; and the third, which is the outer and last of all the envelopes of his most sacred body, is of the finest linen.

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[1] See Beda's Life of St. Cuthbert, § 66, p. 596.

Moreover, he has with him, in his coffin, an altar of silver, a cloth for covering the sacramental elements, a golden chalice with a paten, and a pair of scissors retaining their original freshness, with which his hair was once cut, according to report. These are placed in his coffin, upon a tablet standing in a transverse direction at his head, where, along with his ivory comb, they are hitherto preserved. ✓The comb is perforated in the middle, so that almost three fingers may be slightly inserted into the hole. As to its size, its length appears to bear a becoming proportion to its breadth. For the length is almost equal to the breadth, except that for ornament, there is a slight difference between the one and the other. From length of time it has acquired a reddish tinge; and the character of white bone which belongs to it by nature, is, from its antiquity, exchanged for a ruddy tint. Thus with these robes the coffin of the holy bishop Cuthbert is protected; and of the other holy relics, the head of Oswald, the glorious king and martyr of Christ, is the only one honourably deposited with it.

Of his innermost Coffin, with what Variety of wonderful Workmanship it is fabricated and engraved.

We have hitherto treated of the manner in which Cuthbert, the glorious bishop of Christ, was placed in his coffin, we will now give a description of that inner coffin itself. In this inner coffin he was first placed in the island of Lindisfarne, when he was raised from his grave, and in this his incorruptible body has been hitherto always preserved. It is quadrangular like a chest, and its lid is not elevated in the middle, but flat; so that its summit, whether of lid or sides, is all along level and even. The lid is like the lid of a box, broad and flat. The lid itself is a tablet of wood, serving for an opening, and the whole of it is made to be lifted up by means of two circles or rings, which are fixed in its midway breadth, the one in the direction of his feet, and the other in that of his head. By these rings the lid is elevated and let down, and there is no lock or fastening whatever to attach it to the coffin. The coffin is made entirely of black oak, and it may be doubted, whether it has contracted that colour of blackness from old age, from some device, or from nature. The whole of it is externally carved with very admirable engraving, of such minute and most delicate work, that the beholder, instead of admiring the skill or powers of the carver, is lost in amazement. The compartments are very circumscribed and small, and they are occupied by divers beasts, flowers, and images, which seem to be inserted, engraved, or furrowed out in the wood. This coffin is enclosed in another outer one, which is entirely covered by hides, and is surrounded and firmly bound by iron nails and bandages. The third coffin, which is the outermost of all, is decorated with gold and precious stones, which, by means of indented flutings projecting from the second coffin, for which, in due order, similar projections are fabricated in this, is closely attached and fastened to it by long iron nails. This coffin cannot possibly be separated from the rest, because these nails can by no device be drawn out without fracture.

ILLUSTRATION [C].

Saxon Poem upon the City of Durham.[1]

The city is celebrated
Throughout the kingdom of the Britons;
Placed on a steep eminence
Surrounded with cliffs,
Wonderfully large.
The Wear surrounds it,
A river strong in its current;
And therein reside
Various kinds of fish
In the midst of the floods.
And there grows
A great fortress of woods,
In the recesses of which dwell
Many wild animals.

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[1] Referred to at p. 679. This poem is here translated from the Saxon text of the eleventh or twelfth century, contained in the Cotton. MS., Vitellius D. xx., which was destroyed by fire in 1731. It has been printed in the Decem Scriptores, (col. 76, and among the Addenda,) by Somner, and more correctly by Hickes, in his Thesaur. Gram. Anglo Sax. pp. 178, 179.

In the deep dales there is
A countless number of beasts.
There is also in the town,
One, illustrious among men,
The honourable and blessed Cuthbert;
And the head of the pure king
Oswald, the lion of the English;
And bishop Aidan,
Aedbercht, and Aedfrid,
Illustrious associates;
Therein, along with them, is
Aethelwald, the bishop,
And the illustrious author, Beda;
And Boisil, the abbot,
Who taught the pure Cuthbert
Willingly in his youth;
And well did he receive his instruction.
There abide with that blessed one
Within that minster
Countless relics,
Where many persons honour them wonderfully,
As writers report,
Whilst they await
The just sentence of the Lord.

ILLUSTRATION [D].

The Letter of the Judges in the Suit between the Abbot of St. Alban's and the Prior of Durham, concerning the Church of Tynemouth.[1]

To the reverend father and lord, A.,[2] by the grace of God the high pontiff, B.,[3] the humble minister of the church of Exeter, and his devoted sons, the abbots of Peterborough and York, send greeting, and the obedience of due subjection.

According to the mandate of your holiness we met together upon a day intimated to the parties, in order to discuss the suit at issue between the abbot of St. Alban's and the prior of Durham, respecting the church of Tynemouth. Upon that day the prior of Durham appeared in our presence, and when your letters had been read in the presence of the multitude of religious men and clerics, he urgently entreated us to proceed therein, affirming that the church of Durham, during the time and by the authority of many of its bishops, whom he cited, had long possessed the church of Tynemouth in peace and quiet; but at length, that the monks of Durham had been violently expelled by the secular power and by the violence of laymen, and that the monks of St. Alban's had been intruded by the violence of the same laity, without episcopal authority. The prior aforesaid affirmed that the originator of the expulsion of the one party, and the intrusion of the other, was Robert de Mubrai, earl of Northumberland, who had succeeded some other earls, by whose munificence, as he stated, the church of Durham obtained possession of the said church of Tynemouth. In confirmation of which assertion, he produced two authentic writings, in one of which Waldeve, formerly earl of Northumberland, (who was the third before the said Robert de Mubrai,) protested that he had given, and by the security of his charter had confirmed, to the blessed Cuthbert and to the monks of Durham, the church of Tynemouth, with everything which it possessed at the time when this confirmation was made, or which it might possess hereafter. And this gift and confirmation, as was contained in that authentic charter, was made in the church of Durham, whilst Walcher, the bishop of that same church, was holding a general synod; and he condemned by a perpetual anathema those persons who, at any time whatsoever, should presume to alienate the church of Tynemouth aforesaid from the church of Durham.

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[1] Referred to at p. 708. These documents are translated from the Appendix to the Three Durham Historians, already so frequently referred to, where they are printed from the originals, preserved in the Treasury of that cathedral church.

[2] Pope Alexander the Third, whose pontificate extended from A.D. 1159 to 1181.

[3] Bartholomew of Exeter, bishop of Exeter, from A.D. 1161 to 1185.

The second authentic writing was that of William, formerly bishop of Durham, the successor of Walcher aforesaid; in which it was stated, that the same William had granted, and by his charter confirmed, the gift of the church of Tynemouth which earl Waltheof had made to the monks, who are perpetually to serve God and the blessed Cuthbert in the church of Durham; [and] by a perpetual anathema he condemned all those persons who should, at any time, attempt to deprive the church of Durham of the church of Tynemouth.

When these documents had been read, the party of the prior [of Durham affirmed,] that these were public instruments, and in themselves were sufficient to establish the fact that possession ought to be given. But in order to make us still further assured, they produced certain ancient clerks and laymen, who stated that they had seen the monks of Durham in peaceful possession of the church of Tynemouth, and that they were present when they were expelled by violence, and the monks of St. Alban's violently intruded by lay authority. And as they were old men and in infirm health, and as they affirmed that they could not be produced upon a second occasion without great difficulty, they entreated us earnestly that we would elicit the truth from them, lest the prior's cause might sustain damage in consequence of their death or absence.

When these things had been done, certain monks and clerks, who had been sent by the abbot of St. Alban's, presented to us the letters of their abbot, affirming that he was detained by a severe illness, which prevented him from attending there personally. But the prior of Durham stated that nearly half a-year had elapsed since the citation had been issued, and that he had been endamaged by such a long delay, although we had fixed that day by the consent of the parties. But now, since this cause had become a civil one, and could be carried on by proctors, especially * * * fully trusting in the justice of the Roman see for a remedy from that grievance, he appealed to you for the hearing of his cause, fixing the period at the feast of St. Hilary. And as he has appealed, we have thought it fitting to remit this cause to the examination of your skill. We bid your holiness farewell.

The Writing of the Judges concerning the Composition between us and the Monks of St. Alban's respecting the Churches of Biwell and Edelingham.

Roger,[1] by the grace of God, bishop of Worcester, and John,[2] treasurer of the church of Exeter, to all the sons of holy mother church, present and future, to whom the present writing shall come, sends greeting.

In order that suits which have been decided be not revived, and to prevent the renewal of a dispute by which the blessing of peace be disturbed, it is our wish to give publicity to the fact that the suit instituted by the prior and brethren of Durham against the monastery of St. Alban's, respecting the church of Tynemouth and its appurtenances, (of which the examination and decision was delegated to us, and to our venerable brother Robert,[3] the dean of the church of York, by the command of Alexander the Third, the chief pontiff; in this manner, that if three of us could not be present, two of us might proceed in the same cause,) has been brought to an end upon these terms following: That is to say, that as well our venerable father Hugh,[4] by the grace of God bishop of Durham, as the aforesaid prior, and the whole convent of the same church, have for ever renounced the suit which we have mentioned, and the claim to the church of Tynemouth and all its appurtenances, and by their authentic writings have confirmed that church, with all its appurtenances, to the monastery of St. Alban's. And the abbot and brethren of St. Alban's, out of their love for peace, and in consequence of the renunciation aforesaid, have given to the church of Durham the church of Biwelle, saving the right of Salamon the priest, for his life, and the church of Eduluingeham, saving the possession of Adam de Dumbar, and after him of Englerius the clerk, to be held in perpetual right. The prior of Durham resigned into our hands the instruments which the church of Durham could employ against the monastery of St. Alban's in the recovery of the church of Tynemouth, excepting those in which the church of Tynemouth has been confirmed to the church of Durham, along with its other possessions; and which, indeed, possessed no power or weight against this transaction. And the monks of St. Alban's, upon their part, delivered up to the prior and brethren of Durham the muniments which they had respecting the churches of Biwelle and Eduluingeham, with the exception of such as confirm these churches to the monastery of St. Alban's, along with its other possessions; and these shall have no authority, as far as the present article is concerned. And the bishop of Durham, out of regard and consideration to this agreement, has granted to the abbot aforesaid, as well in his own name as in the name of his church, that it shall be lawful for the same abbot and brethren to receive greater proceeds than has hitherto been usual from the churches which belong to the church of Tynemouth, and upon the death of the present persons, to augment the pensions of these churches to the sum of forty marks beyond what they have hitherto been accustomed to pay.

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[1] Roger, son of Robert, earl of Gloucester, was elected bishop of Worcester, 24th March, 1164, and died 9th August, 1179. See Hardy's Le Neve, iii.

[2] Probably the John of Salisbury, mentioned in Hardy's Le Neve, i. 414, as occurring in 1174.

[3] Robert Botivelein, who died in 1186. Id. iii. 120.

[4] Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham from A.D. 1153 to 1197.

We therefore, in the absence of our fellow-judge aforesaid, (excusing however such his absence, as occasioned by necessary and sufficient causes,) declare this transaction to be valid, and by the authority and power granted to us, we have for ever freed the monastery of St. Alban's from all persecution by the church of Durham, respecting the church aforesaid and its appurtenances; and we have decreed that the transaction aforesaid shall be valid for ever.

Executed at Warwick, in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and seventy-four, on the day before the ides of November [12th Nov.].

The Agreement between Geoffrey, Abbot of St. Alban's, and Cospatric (or Waltheof), respecting Bewic and Eglingham.[1]

This is the agreement between Geoffrey,[2] the abbot of St. Alban's, and Gospatric, the son of Gospatric the earl; that the abbot, with the consent and good-will of the entire chapter, granted to the same Gospatric, and his son Adam (who was formerly called Waldief), the land of Archil Morel, namely, Beuuicke, with all the lands belonging to it, which Winnoc the hunter gave to St. Alban and to St. Oswin, in feeferm, theineslage, in sac and in soc, and tol, and tem, and infangetheof, in wood, and in plain, and in water, as the abbot Geoffrey holds them most advantageously of the king. But that same Gospatric shall pay for the same lands, to the monks of Tynemouth, yearly four pounds; at the purification of the holy Mary, forty shillings; and at the feast of St. Cuthbert, which is in September, forty shillings; and both these sums of money he shall himself convey thither. The same Gospatric shall also pay to the abbot of St. Alban's, or to a messenger named by him, twenty shillings, or, if he be short of money, seven oxen, each of them of the value of six shillings;[3] but this shall be at the option of

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[1] This document (printed from the original contained in the same place of deposit as the two previous charters) is one of the title-deeds, the surrender of which by the abbot of St. Alban's to the prior of Durham is mentioned in the last composition. This transaction was anything but satisfactory to the monks of St. Alban's, and provoked some severe remarks, which may be seen in Matthew Paris's Vitæ Abbatum S. Albani, p. 63. ed. 1640. See also p. 55.

[2] Abbot of St. Alban's from A.D. 1119 to 1146.

[3] A comparison of this passage with the narrative of Matthew Paris, p. 63, warrants us in reading "three" instead of "six," as above.

Gospatric. And if any of these oxen be wanting, for each ox he shall give three shillings. But if Gospatric shall survive his son, or his aforesaid son shall survive him, he shall have relief of the land by the payment of sixty ores; and he shall hold the land by the same agreement, and under the same honour, as his predecessor held it. But when that survivor shall come to the end of his life, the whole land shall remain in the possession of the saint and the monks, without the hindrance and claim of any heir, as fully stocked and provided with everything as it was upon the day in which he fell sick. Moreover, after his decease he gave to God, and the martyrs aforesaid, a certain vill of his, named Stantun, for the redemption of his soul. And further, if he shall be summoned in a fitting manner to attend their pleas in Northumberland, he ought to attend. And it is to be known that this Cospatric gave, by a perpetual gift, to God and the holy martyrs aforesaid, the church of Edolvingeham, with one carrucate of land, entire and free, out of which issue five ores,[1] which are of four pounds. But if Gospatric cannot, or will not, hold the agreement concerning his lands aforesaid, let him restore them entire, and quit of all claim and demand of every one of his heirs; and then he shall have the surplus only.

Gospatric, and his son Adam, swore, in the presence of the abbot and the brethren of the same church, upon the body of Christ and the shrine of St. Alban, that they would observe this agreement.

Of this transaction the witnesses are, Zacheus and Walter the priests, William de Gorram, Walter the steward, Lambert Sym, Robert the son of Anschetil, William the son of Turstin, Ralph the son of Gerold, Luke, Turchill, William, Adam the son of Gospatric, Mainard Judas, Wido the king's marshal, Hunespac, Ralph, Toli of Westminster, Aluuin of Uuathamstede, William de Ostreham, Turgar, Ralph Judas, Leofuuine.

ILLUSTRATION [E].

The Charter of Bishop Ralph,[2] to which was attached, not only his Episcopal Seal, but also his Golden Ring.[3]

RALPH, bishop of Durham, to all his successors and the inhabitants of the diocese of St. Cuthbert, as well those of the present time as those who are yet to succeed, sends his greeting and blessing.

Be it known to those of you who are present, and those who are yet to come, that I, bishop Ralph, give and grant to the church of St. Mary and of St. Cuthbert, and to the monks who serve God in the said church, the same liberty as the said church, and the brethren who dwell within it, possessed on the day upon which, through God's grace, and not by my own merits, I was consecrated to the bishopric of Durham; as well in churches as in vills, and in lands, and in woods, and in waters, and in all other things in which the brethren aforesaid were seized and invested upon that same day. And I would have you know, that all those things which I, in my licence and avarice, had taken away, I have restored to them as a perpetual possession; and I, repenting herein for the evil which I have committed, and entreating mercy, have restored them by my ring, which I have laid upon the altar of St. Cuthbert. I have also granted to the prior, and to them, that in every respect they have free power to dispose of their property; and I entreat that no one be troublesome to them in this respect, but that they have full and entire power in these matters, and in all others which I have granted them, under God's witness.

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[1] As the ore was of the value of sixteen pence (at least in Wessex), it is probable that one of these sums is wrong. Concerning the ore, see Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 486.

[2] This and the following document illustrate the circumstance narrated at p. 717. They are printed from originals preserved in the Treasury at Durham.

[3] The ring is no longer affixed to the charter.

Attested by Robert the archdeacon, and Ralph, and Osbert the bishop's nephew, and Roger Coisn[ers], and others.

The Charter of Bishop Ralph, respecting the Restitution of the Goods which he had taken from the Monks.

Ralph, bishop of Durham, to all his successors, and to the inhabitants of his diocese, and to the faithful men of St. Cuthbert, sends greeting and his blessing.

Know ye, that I have surrendered to my lord St. Cuthbert and to his monks whatsoever I had taken from them after I came to the bishopric; namely, the offering of the altar and burial within the cemetery, and the land on the other side of the bridge at Durham, and Staindrop with its appurtenances, and Bleikestun, and one carrucate of land in Wulvestone, and Burdun with its usual customs, and the church of Siggestun. These and all other things, as well in churches as in vills, and in lands, and in waters, and in woods, and in plains, and in all other things, in which they were seized and invested on the day upon which I received the bishopric of Durham, I, of my own freewill, have restored to St. Cuthbert and his monks by [placing] a ring upon the altar. I have also granted to the prior, and to them, that in any matter they have free power in the disposal of all their property, as well within the church as without, together with the enjoyment of that dignity, liberty, honour and quiet, which at any previous time they may have enjoyed.

Witnesses: Osbert the bishop's nephew, and R. and others.

END OF VOL. III.

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